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HISTORY
OF THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
MIDDLESEX
ELECTIONS;
IN THE
MONTH OF NOVEMBER,
1806.

LONDON:

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1807.

HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES

IN

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES

J. Brettell, Printer,
Marshall-Street, Golden-Square.



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P R E F A C E.

THE Reader is here presented with an Account of the Proceedings which took place at the Westminster and Middlesex Elections, in the month of November last. The Volume consists of a Collection of the Addresses of the respective Candidates; of their Speeches, as well as the Speeches of their Friends, both on the Hustings and at Public Meetings; of the Resolutions passed at those Meetings; and also of the numerous Advertisements, Letters, Hand-bills, Songs, &c. &c. which made their appearance during the said Elections. To point out the utility of such a Collection, after the favourable reception which similar publications have invariably met with, would be superfluous. The utmost impartiality has been strictly adhered to. In no instance has the Compiler

given

given any opinion of his own, upon the several topics brought forward; but, in making a Collection of every thing that he has been able to obtain, he has done his best to enable the Public, both now and hereafter, to form a correct judgment upon subjects which have engaged so large a portion of their attention.

December 1806.

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WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

CANDIDATES.

SIR SAMUEL HOOD, K. B.

RT. HON. RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

JAMES PAULL, Esq.



MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

CANDIDATES.

GEORGE BYNG, Esq.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BARI.

WILLIAM MELLISH, Esq.

HISTORY
OF THE
WESTMINSTER ELECTION,
IN THE
MONTH OF NOVEMBER,
1806.

HISTORY

OF THE

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

SHORTLY after the Dissolution of the late Parliament, the Right Hon. RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN, Sir SAMUEL HOOD, and JAMES PAULL, Esq. announced their intentions of becoming Candidates for the CITY OF WESTMINSTER, in the following terms :

*To the worthy and independent Electors of the
City of Westminster.*

GENTLEMEN ;

It was not in my power to express, in terms adequate to the sensations in my mind, the gratitude I felt, when, at the meeting of the 18th of last month, your partial kindness induced you to regard me as a person worthy, through your confidence and choice, to succeed your late revered representative, Mr. Fox. My motives for then
B declining

declining the distinguished honour proposed to me, must, I am confident, have received, upon due consideration, the sanction of every unbiassed and reflecting mind.—The present general expectation of an immediate dissolution of parliament, opens to me the course which every motive of duty, gratitude, and fair ambition, calls on me to pursue; I earnestly solicit from each of you the honour of your support, and vote, if necessary, at the approaching Election. I make no professions; I am confident you do not expect any from me. What I have been, I shall continue to be: the maintenance of the principles of Mr. Fox is now, more than ever, a sacred duty. It is a solemn trust, bequeathed especially to those who shared his confidence, gloried in his friendship, and followed in his steps while living. My efforts to execute my humble share in that trust, will, in my estimation, at all times be overpaid by the continuance of your protection and approbation.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, with the sincerest respect and devotion,

Somerset-Place,
Oct. 20, 1806.

Your obliged servant,

R. B. SHERIDAN.

To the worthy Electors of Westminster.

GENTLEMEN;

I trust I shall not be deemed presumptuous in offering my services to the City of Westminster upon the present occasion.—If I should be so fortunate as to be distinguished by your favour, I shall be anxious on every occasion to evince my gratitude

tude to you by an upright and independent conduct in parliament, and by continuing to devote my best faculties to the service of my country.—My health is not yet sufficiently re-established to admit of my soliciting your support by a personal canvass, but I am confident this involuntary omission will not be permitted to operate to my prejudice. I have no doubt of being able to make my appearance on the hustings on the day of election, and there to assure you in person of my attachment to your service.

I have the honour to remain, gentlemen, with the greatest truth,

Your most obedient, and most faithful

Wimpole-Street,
Oct. 27, 1806.

Humble servant,
SAMUEL HOOD.

*To the free and independent Electors of the City
and Liberty of Westminster.*

GENTLEMEN ;

The unexpected dissolution of parliament having removed the only objection to my standing forward upon a recent occasion, as a candidate for the honour of your suffrages, and for the purpose of rescuing you from the disgrace of being transferred from one great man to another, like the debased inhabitants of a vassal borough ; this objection having been removed by a measure which has deprived me of that seat, which, for the sake of the great cause in which I was engaged, I was so anxious to retain, I have lost no time in applying to you, the free and independent Electors of Westminster.

minster, to choose me one of your representatives for the ensuing parliament ; and for the making of this application, the following are the grounds : —Eighteen months only was I a member of the house of commons ; but, gentlemen, during those eighteen months, I was, perhaps, more time actually in the house, and attending upon my duty, than some members have been in the course of as many years ; or it would be impossible, that, for the far greater part of the session, there were not present above seventy or eighty, out of six hundred and fifty-eight members : during these eighteen months, I brought under the examination of parliament the misdeeds of lord Wellesley, by whose aggressions, the British character has been rendered hateful in India, and by whose extravagance, four millions of money have already been drained in taxes from the people of England ; many millions more being necessary to satisfy the demands created by that profligate extravagance. During those eighteen months, in spite of all the intrigues and all the power, both of the court and the ministry, and even in spite of endeavours on the part of his royal highness the prince of Wales to put a stop to my proceedings, I persevered, until I had produced, upon the table of the house of commons, articles of impeachment against lord Wellesley, and thereby compelling the house either to declare that they approved of the unparalleled acts of that nobleman, or that he ought to be tried and punished for those acts. But, gentlemen, all this will, without your assistance, be rendered useless, by the dissolution
of

of the parliament, which puts an end to all the proceedings against lord Wellesley, and which has evidently been adopted, chiefly for the purpose of thus defeating the ends of public justice, and of preventing any reform in the expenditure of the public money.—To you, therefore, I confidently appeal for that support which will enable me again to revive and prosecute this great undertaking ; to you I appeal for the power of again withstanding all attempts at suppressing enquiry into the monstrous abuses of the barrack and other departments ; to you I appeal for the power of preventing your burthens from being increased, by exempting the funded property of Hanoverians and other foreigners from bearing its due proportion of the tax, at the very time that you are maintaining thirteen thousand Hanoverian soldiers, and are making war, at an enormous expence, for the restoration of Hanover to the king ; to you I appeal, in short, for the power of exerting all my faculties against that torrent of oppression and corruption that threatens to extinguish entirely, and for ever, that flame of British freedom, which is now reduced to a spark, and of which spark you are the guardians.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect and esteem,

Charles-Street,

Oct. 27, 1806.

Your most devoted servant,

JAMES PAULL.

Proceedings

*Proceedings at a Meeting of the Friends of Mr.
PAULL, at the Crown-and-Anchor Tavern, on
Thursday, October 29.*

This day a meeting was held at the Crown-and-Anchor tavern, in the Strand, pursuant to advertisement, of the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, professedly in the interest of Mr. Paull. Sir Francis Burdett was in the chair. The number present appeared to be about 300. After dinner (which was a good one), and the cloth having been removed, the first toast was

“THE KING;”—which was drunk with great applause:

“The Independent Electors of Westminster:”

“Sir Francis Burdett.”

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT rose, and spoke as follows:—Gentlemen, I never rose more cheerfully in my life than I do now, to perform a duty, for I think it is a duty, to support a public man, who comes forward as a candidate for Westminster, and who comes forward upon independent principles. I never rose, I say, more cheerfully or more satisfactorily, to perform a duty to the public, than I do upon the present occasion, in recommending to you a gentleman who sits near me, Mr. Paull, to represent the Independent Electors of this great City.—I will not detain you long in observations preparatory to drinking his health; but shall briefly state to you one or two observations, which,

which, I trust, will induce you to concur with me in thinking that Mr. Paull is the *only* person who can be supported, upon this occasion, on honourable and public grounds by the independent part of the Electors of this City.—Gentlemen, the advertisement of your late representative (Lord Gardner), who now declines coming forward as a candidate for your future suffrages, carries in itself strong, and, indeed, sufficient reason why he ought never to have been a candidate at all, and why a person, who stands under the same circumstances, and in the same predicament, cannot, any more than himself, fulfil that duty, which ought to be the first, if not the only object of those whom you deign to favour with your support. In his advertisement, Lord Gardner states, “that
“he cannot come forward as a candidate to re-
“present you in parliament, on account of his pro-
“fessional duty, which compels him to be absent
“from the House of Commons.” I do not mean to insinuate, for I do not feel, that either of these gallant officers is not a very fit object of any honour or professional reward or emolument, which their country could bestow upon them; but this is the only situation,—I mean, that of being candidate for your suffrages to represent you in parliament;—I say, the only situation, wherein an English naval officer can appear to any disadvantage.—Gentlemen, upon reflection, I say, it is the only possible situation in which an English naval officer can be made an instrument to oppose the liberty, the independence, and, I must say,
the

the interests of his country.—Gentlemen, if sir Samuel Hood, of whose gallantry and meritorious conduct there can be entertained but one opinion, was asking only some mark of honour or respect from his countrymen, no man in England would oppose him; nor would any be more ready to shew him respect than the Electors of the City of Westminster; but, on the present occasion, wherein your choice confers no sinecure office, but a laborious duty, and not less important even than his professional duty, requiring, as it does, so much attendance and exertion, and admitting of no absence, I think that, under all such circumstances, you will concur with me in thinking that the gallant officer cannot be fit to fill it. Therefore Lord Gardner has left behind him a legacy which has not only excluded himself, but every other naval officer, from claiming your suffrages to represent you in parliament. Then, gentlemen, conceiving that the professions of sir Samuel Hood, and the duties which attend it, are inconsistent with a faithful discharge of those of a member of parliament, which is no more than saying that no man can act in two places, and act in two capacities at one time, it cannot be any affront to him, to refuse him support in an application made on his behalf, in which he has no claim; because it is impossible for him to serve you as a member of parliament without neglecting his duty as a naval officer, for which reason he is an unfit candidate to represent you in parliament.—After having disposed of that part of the question before you, I
come

come to the next candidate for your suffrages, Mr. Sheridan. On the propriety of his being originally a candidate, I have already given my opinion ;—that opinion is before the public ;—I maintain that opinion now upon that subject :—but, putting all other observations out of the question, I cannot but think that a Treasurer of the Navy is unfit to represent this great and independent City in parliament.—[*bursts of applause.*]
—Gentlemen, there remains, then, for our choice but one candidate, Mr. Paull ; who if he had no other merit, than that of being unconnected with, and independent of the other two, would give him a decided preference to both. He comes forward to afford the Electors of Westminster an opportunity of maintaining the independence of their City ; so that, upon that foundation alone, I think you cannot doubt which of the three candidates is best entitled to your support. But, Mr. Paull stands on ground still higher ; on ground which, I will be bold to say, not only claims, but deserves, the independent support of every man in the community. I will state, as briefly as I can, the merits of Mr. Paull's conduct ; and I am sorry to say that he stands as a singular individual in the present time, on account of his adherence to public principles ; of his pursuing oppressors ; of his bringing accusations against alledged delinquents ; and all this under such singular disadvantages, that I will be bold to say, without compliment to him, few indeed would, under the same circumstances, have adhered to the cause of

public virtue in the same manner as Mr. Paull has done. [*Great applause.*]—Every art and trick that could be employed to create obstruction, or to present all sorts of opposition to the object of Mr. Paull, open or underhanded, to prevent him from pursuing that object, were exercised, either to cajole or terrify him from the pursuit of it ; but they all proved unavailing. But, what is the strongest recommendation of Mr. Paull to your suffrages is, that it has been a strong motive with ministers, perhaps the strongest, to dissolve the present parliament, in order to stifle his voice in it ; for they are well aware, that Mr. Paull cannot come into parliament for money ; he is a proscribed person amongst those who have seats at their disposal. He cannot come in again to perform what he has so nobly begun, by any means but those of the independent exertion, by the uncorrupt and energetic support, of a popular Election, such as yours, and to which I say, he has a right to look for support ; nor do I know where he can look with such well-founded confidence of success, as to the public-spirited and independent Electors of this great and enlightened City. I say, therefore, that for these reasons only, being engaged as he is against a great alleged delinquent, and being proscribed from all places except those that are populous and independent, he has a claim upon your integrity : with your assistance he will stand upon a rock, from which he cannot be removed ; and this consideration is of the utmost importance, for he alone can do it with effect ; nobody but

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himself

himself can effectually carry on the enquiry which he has commenced, and with your assistance he will be a *fulcrum*, sufficiently powerful, perhaps, to remove even the present broad-bottomed administration. Gentlemen, I shall not detain you any longer, because this is a meeting of business. We should now proceed on the true purpose of it, on which I trust we are agreed unanimously,—that of securing the election of Mr. Paull:—but, before I proceed to drink that gentleman's health, I will read to you certain Resolutions which I shall submit for your approbation, as being descriptive of the fixed principles of Mr. Paull, and upon which he is to be recommended to your notice.”—He then read the following Resolutions, which were all carried unanimously, *viz.*

RESOLUTIONS.

- I. RESOLVED.—“ That, to be represented in the
 “ legislature by men sent thither by our own
 “ free choice, is our undoubted right as Englishmen; is the only security for the possession of our property or the enjoyment of
 “ our personal freedom; and is, indeed, the
 “ only thing which distinguishes us from the
 “ subjects of a despot.”
- II. “ That, duly impressed with the value of this,
 “ our constitutional privilege, and, perceiving
 “ with deep affliction, that, through the influence of corruption and venality, this inestimable privilege has, in numerous instances,
 “ been undermined and annihilated, it is

“ at this critical period, the duty of every body
 “ of men having a right to vote, and parti-
 “ cularly of the Electors of this great and po-
 “ pulous City, so to exercise their franchise as
 “ to exhibit to the rest of the kingdom an
 “ example of good sense, of public spirit, of
 “ purity of principle, and of resolution to
 “ maintain or recover those rights, which
 “ when constitutionally enjoyed, have always
 “ proved to be the greatest blessing to the
 “ people, and the securest foundation of the
 “ throne.”

III. “ That we have observed, with unfeigned
 “ sorrow, that out of the 658 members of the
 “ late House of Commons, a comparatively very
 “ small portion ever attended their duty: that
 “ nearly one half of the whole were Placemen,
 “ dependent Officers, and Pensioners; that, it
 “ was but too often evident, that the motive of
 “ action was private interest rather than public
 “ good; and that, amongst those who were
 “ loudest in their professions of devotion to the
 “ King, the chief object was to render Him, as
 “ well as his People, the slaves of faction.

IV. “ That in the parliamentary conduct of Mr.
 “ Paull, we have observed a constant attention
 “ to his duty, a strict adherence to every
 “ promise made to the public, a virtuous ab-
 “ horrence of oppressors and peculators, an in-
 “ flexible perseverance in the prosecution of de-
 “ linquency, a rare instance of resistance to
 “ those temptations, by which so many other
 “ men

“ men have been seduced to betray their trust;
“ and that, upon these grounds, it is incumbent
“ upon us, collectively and individually, to use
“ all the legal means within our power to secure
“ his election, and therein to do all that rests
“ with us to preserve our country from a fate
“ similar to that of so many European states
“ which have fallen an easy conquest to the
“ enemy, only because the people had neither
“ property nor liberty to defend.”

Sir FRANCIS then drank “ the health of Mr Paull, and success to his Election.”

Mr. PAULL rose, and said : “ Gentlemen, I am almost an entire stranger, and utterly unknown to you as a public character, and I feel greater diffidence in addressing you, than I felt in addressing that assembly in which I had once, and in which I still seek a seat.—I claim your indulgence, without making many professions. I will not say as some do, I have no words to convey my thanks to you for your kindness; but although I use but few words to express those thanks, I hope I can feel more affection for your interests than a man who can say more—[*Bursts of applause.*]—I say, I hope I feel more than a man who can say more, and that my conduct will hereafter prove the truth of what I now assert, on the subject of the great national contest, for so I call it, in which we are now engaged—I mean an appeal to you for a seat in parliament. I certainly had no intention to offer myself to the Electors of Westminster before I had some claim; and now I have the greatest,
because

because I am proscribed by every man in power in this country. I appeal to you, as a body able to defeat that proscription, and as disposed to do so; for there is a spirit in this country, which can always defeat any despotic minister of the crown. From the first time I have been able to think upon political topics, I have been determined to follow the steps of a distinguished and illustrious patriot, for whose principles I have been an avowed advocate, with whom I should wish to live, and with whom and for whose principles I am ready, if necessary, to die;—I mean sir Francis Burdett.—I can only add, that if I am returned for this City to parliament, I will attend my duty as I have always done; and as I have no doubt my friend (sir Francis Burdett) will be returned, I shall be proud to be at his back; I pledge myself to support him in resisting the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and every other measure that may tend to encroach on the liberty of the subject. I shall think with pride on the proceedings of this day; and, rather than submit to tyranny, I will with pride even go to the scaffold with that distinguished patriot sir Francis Burdett, if such should be our fate in our last efforts to resist it! Gentlemen, I thank you sincerely for drinking my health; and with drinking yours most cordially, I now beg leave to retire, in order to pay my respects to some of those of my friends who have not been able to favour us with their company here.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, after expressing his conviction that the meeting would naturally sympathize

thize in the feelings of any body of men assailed by ministerial influence, proposed, at the request of Mr. Cobbett, "THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF HAMPSHIRE; and success to their endeavours to preserve the remains of their Freedom against the attacks of an arrogant minister."—This toast, and that of, "THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF MIDDLESEX," which followed, having been drunk with three times three, sir Francis Burdett, after a description of the plan of committees and canvassing, upon which the Electors ought all to act in order to secure the Election of Mr. Paull, took his leave, accompanied by Mr. Paull, colonel Bosville, and several gentlemen who sat at the top of the room, and followed by the applauses of the company.

Upon sir Francis having vacated the chair, Mr. Cobbett was called to it, and he immediately proposed, "*Success to the Election of sir Francis Burdett,*" which was drunk with the most ardent expressions of enthusiasm. Mr. Cobbett pointed out the several divisions to which it had been found convenient to apportion distinct committees; and exhorting gentlemen to put down their names, who were disposed to canvass in their several parishes, and to proceed to business as soon as possible, he begged to take his leave, in order to attend a meeting in Westminster. Mr. Hewlings was then called to the chair. His health was drunk, as was that of Mr. Gibbons, both of whom made speeches expressive of thanks. And after a few toasts and songs, the company separated with the utmost harmony.

*Colonel Fullarton's Address to the Electors of
Westminster.*

GENTLEMEN ;

My absence from London prevented me from learning till yesterday, that your votes and interest had been publicly solicited by sir Samuel Hood. The courage and exertions evinced by that officer at Toulon, at Aboukir, at Teneriffe, and in various other instances, prove that, in his capacity as a Captain of the Navy, he is entitled to the highest praise ; while the recent capture of four French frigates, by a squadron under his command, and the severe misfortune which befel him on that occasion, must interest in his favour every individual who is capable of appreciating naval skill and enterprize. Unfortunately, however, for sir Samuel Hood, his exertions have not been confined within the limits of his Profession, but have been exercised in a Civil Department, in such a manner as will enable you to determine how far his principles, his modes of acting, and his official declarations, can be tolerated in a Candidate for the Representation of the first City in the British Empire. As a reward, I presume, for his distinguished Naval Services, he was appointed, in the year 1802, Third Commissioner for the government of Trinidad ; at the same time, Governor Picton was appointed Second, and I was named as First Commissioner. During the period in which sir Samuel Hood executed the duties of that office, he committed various acts which became the subject of serious

serious charges against him, and which remain still pending before the Lords of his Majesty's Council; their lordships having intimated their intentions of postponing the consideration of them until the more serious charges against his colleague, Colonel Picton, were disposed of. The particulars of these transactions are detailed in my address to that right honourable Tribunal, and in other documents, of which copies or extracts shall be printed and circulated for the information of the Electors of Westminster. In the mean while, it is sufficient to specify, that sir Samuel Hood stands arraigned of having concurred with Colonel Picton in committing acts of illegality and aggression against British subjects under his protection; and that he exposed the colony to a scene of anarchy, by issuing a proclamation, dated 27th of April, 1806, directly violating the King's authority, and commands.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most faithful

and most obedient servant,

WILLIAM FULLARTON.

Barnaby Moor,

Oct. 29, 1806.

FIRST DAY.

Monday November 3, 1806.

Mr. Paull proceeded from his house to the Hustings, in his barouche and four, accompanied by sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Cobbett, and some other friends; colonel Bosville in his coach and four following, accompanied by Mr. Burdett, the rev. Mr. French, and another gentleman.

Upon Mr. Paull's arrival, he was greeted with the loudest and warmest applause. About ten o'clock, an universal hissing, groaning, and clamorous disapprobation announced the arrival of one of the other candidates, Mr. Sheridan,—who no sooner appeared on the Hustings, than a cry of “off! off!” issued from various quarters. A parcel of men, armed with bludgeons, entered at this time amongst the crowd, who did not fail to express great dissatisfaction at such an unseasonable encroachment. Mr. Sheridan attempted to speak, in order to apologise for his delay, but the noise and clamour was so very great, that not a word could be heard.

Sir Samuel Hood made his appearance, and it was with great difficulty that the Hustings, which were by this time (11 o'clock) exceedingly crowded, could be cleared for the gallant admiral to get forward. This last Candidate was attended by lord William Russell and several naval gentlemen. He was in his full dress naval uniform, and wore

all the medals and honourable badges which his meritorious services so justly entitled him to. The want of his arm, and his being in the naval dress, seemed instantaneously to recal to the recollection of all present, our much-lamented hero, lord Nelson. Loud shouts of applause, and marks of esteem seemed to follow the gallant admiral, till such time as he approached the Hustings, when a contrary sentiment seemed to prevail, in the idea of his offering himself as a Candidate for Westminster.

Lord William Russell attempted to speak, but the cry of "*Paull! Paull!*" was so very great, that he was obliged to desist.

Mr. Peter Moore then came forward, and, after a short preamble, or eulogium upon Mr. Sheridan, concluded by proposing that gentleman as a candidate. This motion was seconded by lord William Russell, who also was proceeding to descant upon the merits of Mr. Sheridan, but was soon completely overpowered by the clamour of the multitude.

Mr. Sheridan next spoke, and had proceeded a considerable length, before one single sentence became audible. We understood him at length to be asking the populace, "Gentlemen, I wish to know whether you really want a riot or an Election? If you have a good cause, you will conduct yourselves peaceably; trust in the goodness of your cause, and not in noise and clamour; it is one, which, at least, will bear a fair and impartial discussion."

Mr. Peter Moore again came forward, and attempted to supply what had been inaudible in the

speech of his friend who had last spoken. “Gentlemen,” said he, “it is my wish to consult, to the utmost, your interest in proposing Mr. Sheridan to supply the place of that patriotic statesman who is now no more. I have endeavoured to remedy the loss you have experienced in the death of Mr. Fox as much as lies in my power; Mr. Sheridan has been all along his steady friend, and it might truly be said, that it was a struggle which of them should do most for the benefit and advantage of the people in general, as well as that of their constituents in particular. They had each of them studied to promote the general liberty and independence of the people. Mr. Sheridan has, indeed, accepted of an office, and I am glad that he has done so. [*Loud cries of no! no! and marks of disapprobation.*] Offices must be filled by somebody. Is it not better, therefore, that they be filled by such men as Mr. Sheridan, who has proved himself, on all occasions, to be your friend? I am convinced you will be of opinion, therefore, that Mr. Sheridan is the most proper person to represent you in parliament.”

Lord William Russell.—“I never, gentlemen, had the honour of addressing you; but I am happy to meet you in support of those principles, which have ever been dearest to my heart. The principles of the gentleman who has been proposed to you, are such as can secure independence and happiness to this country.”—

Mr. Paull here called out to the high bailiff, to order the bludgeon-men (who came up with Mr. Sheridan’s

Sheridan's colours) to be disarmed, as they were occasioning considerable tumult and confusion below. The noise which prevailed, prevented the sheriff from hearing Mr. Paull's observations.—These bludgeon-men, however, becoming somewhat more riotous during the polling, they were completely disarmed by the activity of a Mr. Bird, one of the constables in attendance.

Lord William Russell continued, after repeated interruptions;—"Gentlemen, I shall propose a candidate for your suffrages, whose conduct, I am convinced, will be consistent with those principles I have alluded to: I shall nominate sir Samuel Hood; a gentleman who is entitled to your approbation and gratitude, as he has fought and bled in defence of our country, and therefore well adapted, in every point of view, to defend your liberties and laws." This motion was seconded by a Mr. Dawes. While sir Samuel Hood was attempting to speak, some altercation ensued betwixt the friends of Mr. Paull and Mr. Sheridan. Mr. P. Moore, addressing himself to Mr. Paull, said with considerable warmth, "By God, sir, if any thing happens, I shall look to you for the consequences," or, "you shall be answerable for the consequences;" to which Mr. Paull answered, that any tumult that existed was by no means occasioned by him or his party. He wished above all things to promote quietness and regularity, but he thought the best way of doing so, would be to remove the men who had come armed with bludgeons. He
could

could not approve of such a procedure. His cause stood in need of no such expedient.

Sir Samuel Hood then said a few words, which could not be heard.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT rose, amidst the loudest plaudits that had as yet been testified by the surrounding multitude. The duration of that applause for some time interrupted the hon. baronet in the commencement of his speech. Soon afterwards, however, the utmost silence generally prevailed, and we heard him speak as follows:—
“ Gentlemen, I shall not detain you by animadverting much upon the very unhandsome manner in which the delay (of opening the poll) has been occasioned. It was, no doubt, perfectly unjustifiable and unprecedented; and you, yourselves, will judge of the motives from which it proceeded. As to the gallant Admiral who has been proposed to you this day for the purpose of representing you in Parliament, I shall only observe, that if he came forward to claim your applause and gratitude for his professional merits, if he put in his claim solely for professional honours, I can assure him and his friends that I should be the last man to raise my voice against such undoubted claims. Gentlemen, not to detain you from proceeding to the business of the day, I shall merely shortly state, that it is utterly impossible for the gallant admiral to be your Representative, or to perform the duties of a Representative in parliament. Having stated thus much, as to one Candidate, I hope it will be deemed almost unnecessary to add, that
the

the other stands also in a situation which renders him an unfit person to be entitled to your suffrages. I shall, however, state it broadly, that the Treasurer of his majesty's Navy ought not to be elected your Representative. His acceptance of that office must, in your opinion, disqualify that gentleman. I state this broadly, and I leave it to your own good sense and consideration. This is not the time, however, for discussing questions of a constitutional nature. It is for you to act in these particulars as your own feelings must dictate. I shall not enter further into the merits, demerits, or disqualifications of the two persons who have already been proposed to your notice. The gentleman who, in my opinion, demands your suffrages and support, upon strong constitutional grounds, is a gentleman who now stands near me; I mean Mr. Paull. [*Here the hon. baronet was interrupted by loud and reiterated bursts of applause.*] Gentlemen, Mr. Paull's merits are as well known to you as to me. It is therefore left to you to judge, whether inflexible integrity, a determined opposition to alledged public crimes, and an inveterate enmity to peculation and fraud, be qualifications which ought to entitle a person to be returned your Representative in parliament, in the present situation of the country? I shall be as short as possible in stating my reasons for supporting that gentleman, and my objections to the other candidates. It is my opinion, gentlemen, that the dangers of our country originated from the want of such men as Mr. Paull to represent the people in the house
of

of commons. Yet, true it is, that Mr. Paull finds a difficulty thrown in his way, from causes which must be evident to you, to procure a seat in that house, unless he submits to a surrender of that integrity, which, in your eyes, ought undoubtedly to be his chief recommendation for your suffrages. In my estimation, one hundred mercenaries in the house of commons are much more dangerous than five hundred thousand mercenaries in military array, headed by the emperor of France, [*loud applause.*] With these observations, gentlemen, I shall take my leave. I recommend Mr. Paull strongly to the Electors of Westminster, and I trust that they will, on this occasion, come forward and say—"Paull, and the City of Westminster!" I, therefore, take the liberty of nominating Mr. Paull, from a thorough conviction that he, of all others, is the best adapted for your Representative; that, as a Candidate, he stands alone, and unconnected with any party, and totally devoid of mercenary motives."—Sir Francis's speech was received, throughout, with the most marked attention.

Mr. Gibbons said, that after the detail which the Electors had just now heard, of the qualifications of the gentleman whom the hon. baronet had proposed, it would be unnecessary for him, in rising to second the proposal, to say more, than that he most cordially agreed with every sentiment which the mover of it had uttered.

Mr. Paull then presented himself, and addressed the Electors as follows:—"Gentlemen, Electors

of Westminster, I certainly, on the present occasion, shall not take up much of your time. We are now about to enter upon the most important of all contests. We are now standing up in defence of the rights of the people of England, against the proscription of an arrogant minister. I will not make any professions to you this day. They have already gone abroad, and, I trust, have been read by many of my friends. I love my king, I love the cause I have espoused, and I love the people of Great Britain. These are the principles upon which I shall act, and thence arises the course which I shall purpose to pursue, if you are pleased to return me your Representative. I hope that this day it will be seen, that there is a spirit in the Electors of Westminster—that they are not to be bought, sold, nor intimidated from doing their duty. My principles, gentlemen, are the principles of sir Francis Burdett. He has been calumniated; but I should wish to know what man, who has dared to do his duty, has not been calumniated? I know the purity of his heart, and his love of the king and the constitution. He is one who has all along wished to bring into practice, that system of representation which has recently existed only in theory. I shall refrain, after what has been already said, from entering into the merits of sir Samuel Hood, or of the Treasurer of the Navy, and shall only conclude by soliciting your suffrages to return me as your Representative.”

Mr. Sheridan again offered himself—"Gentlemen, sir F. Burdett has told you that a hundred mercenaries in the house of commons, are more dangerous to you than 500,000 mercenaries under Buonaparté. Upon this I wish to observe, and to ask him whether, during any period of the 26 years I have been in parliament, he ever knew me to be one of those mercenaries? I put this question to sir F. Burdett. Does he agree to answer me—does he mean to say, that for the sake of obtaining a place, I would be one of those mercenaries? Another question too—Will sir Francis, as a man of honour and of truth, deny, that I was the single man that stood by him upon the question of the prisons? did I not second him in his motion for that enquiry? If you elect me, you will elect a man who is warmly attached to your interests, and who will never become the instrument of bartering away or destroying your rights."

Sir Francis Burdett, in answer to Mr. Sheridan, asked him, "whether, since he had been in power, he had ever proposed to redress those grievances of which he had complained when out of power?"

The shew of hands was now proceeded to, and the high bailiff declared it to be in favour of sir S. Hood and Mr. Paull. Mr. Sheridan demanded that the shew of hands should be resorted to again, as the question had not been heard. A long discussion took place; after which, a poll was demanded. An adjournment took place for an hour, in order to adjust the poll books; when the poll commenced.

commenced. At four o'clock, the poll closed for the day ; when the numbers appeared :—

For Mr. Paull 327

Mr. Sheridan 178

Sir S. Hood 161

Mr. Sheridan came forward, and again attempted to address the Electors ; but his efforts to procure silence were completely frustrated by the populace ; and he retired amidst the groanings and hissings of the multitude : the cry of “ Paull ! Paull ! ” generally prevailed.

Sir S. Hood was nearly as unsuccessful as Mr. Sheridan. He did not, however, attempt to enlarge, but merely said that he most sincerely thanked those Electors who had favoured him with their suffrages ; and trusted, that they would, in future days, carry him far above the proportion he had already procured.

Mr. Paull said :—“ Gentlemen, Electors of Westminster, I come forward now to announce the most glorious triumph that a free man ever obtained. It is this :—A man, who has nothing but his integrity to recommend him ; one who has no dependence on any thing but his own upright intentions, stands at the head of the poll, although opposed by two Court Candidates. I thank the honest Electors who voted for me this day ; they may now go home to their wives and children, and say with truth, that the votes they have this day given, were given to a candidate who will not desert them, but will act to the best of his power for their benefit, and assert their rights to the last

hour of his life. My principles are already known to you, and they are such as I shall most inflexibly pursue. That course which my illustrious friend, sir F. Burdett, has stated to you, I shall persevere in till I accomplish my purpose."

MR. SHERIDAN'S DINNER AT THE CROWN AND
ANCHOR.

[From the Morning Chronicle.]

In the evening of this day a considerable number of the friends of Mr. Sheridan dined together, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. Lord Barrymore was called to the chair. A good deal of anxiety at first prevailed among the friends of Mr. Sheridan, as a report prevailed that he had been basely assaulted in coming from the hustings, by a person carrying a marrow-bone and cleaver. Mr. Sheridan, however, soon arrived; so that it was clear he had sustained no serious harm, though in fact it appeared that an attempt had been made to do him a personal injury.—After dinner, several loyal and patriotic toasts were drunk; among which were, "The King," with three times three; "The Queen and Royal Family;" "the Prince of Wales," with three times three; "The immortal memory of Mr. Fox;" and that patriot's favourite toast, "The cause of Liberty all over the world." These were interspersed by some exquisite glees sung by lord Barrymore, the hon. Mr. Barry, Mr Leete, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. PETER MOORE then rose, and addressed the
meeting.

meeting. He adverted to the disgraceful scene which they had that morning witnessed, during which that justice had been denied to him and to his right hon. friend Mr. Sheridan, which he had always been anxious to procure for others—a fair and impartial hearing. He was sorry for the part which sir Francis Burdett seemed to have had in these scenes,—a man whom he had long loved and esteemed. He then adverted to the principles which had been attempted to be imposed upon the people with respect to men in office. What had the Electors of Westminster been for 26 years labouring for so eagerly ? not the mere returning of a member to parliament. Mr. Fox might, at a comparatively small expence, have been returned to that assembly. Their object had always been to have Mr. Fox in office. The safety of the British constitution consisted in having men of tried talent and integrity in office, and with this view the Electors of Westminster had supported Mr. Fox. His exertions, as well as his purse, had been always ready to support the constitution ; and any support unconnected with that, Mr. Fox would have scorned to accept as much as they to give. He had spent the greater part of his life in studying public characters, and there was none, in looking round, whom he considered as so worthy of the support of the Electors of Westminster as his right hon. friend. It was well known that he might at any time have had offices, if that had been his object : but he had scorned that, when it interfered with his principles. The great point therefore was,

to have, not a man whom office commanded, but a man who commanded office. The place of Mr. Fox could never be supplied, but he was persuaded that if the ashes of the dead could be sensible of what was passing here, Mr. Fox would be rejoiced to find that Mr. Sheridan had succeeded him. He concluded by recommending the most active exertions in favour of his right hon. friend, and by proposing the health of Mr. Sheridan. This was received with the most rapturous applause.

MR. SHERIDAN then addressed the meeting in a speech distinguished by that uncommon eloquence for which he has so long been celebrated. Two toasts had been given, he said, which had come home to his heart, "The immortal memory of Mr. Fox," and the favourite toast of his deceased friend, "The cause of Liberty all over the world." That immortal memory no one revered more than he did. He wished certainly to be returned to parliament for Westminster: but he would speak plainly; he neither sought nor desired to have any support distinct from that with which his deceased friend had been favoured. He would make no fulsome professions. He only desired the Electors to look at what he had done. He had maintained the proper rights of the crown, the aristocracy, and the people. He had always been the sincere friend of rational freedom. He always resisted oppression among the higher orders, and licentiousness among the lower; because he thought that by freedom alone could man be made that for which his Creator intended him. He was forced
to

to allude to that indecent and highly disgraceful conduct by which he had that day been prevented from being heard. Sir F. Burdett had made it an objection to him, that he was in office. He had asked sir F. Burdett two plain questions. He had asked him whether he could say that this circumstance had or would bias his vote? No answer. He had asked him, who had stood by him when he exposed the abuses in the prison of Cold Bath Fields? Still no answer. But the observation of sir Francis was, that though he (Mr. S.) had been some time in office, governor Aris had not been removed, nor any satisfaction procured for the miserable victims who had suffered in the prison under that man's management. But sir Francis knew well, and so did others, that he was not a minister. If he had been a minister, and if the thing had rested with him, there were none of those who had been oppressed during the period in which he had opposed oppressive measures, but would have been relieved. His great object had been, and always would be, to support the true and rational freedom of the subject on constitutional principles. There was in this country, at this moment, he believed, more general worth, more freedom, more honesty and honourable feelings, and more of those dispositions that constituted the real dignity and nobility of human nature, than in any other part of the world. This was owing to the admirable nature of our constitution. This was what made our situation still so much worth defending, and what might make us exclaim with the poet, "England, with
all

all thy faults, I love thee still, because thou'rt free!" If there were any who wished, under the colour of patriotism and love of freedom, to overturn that constitution,—he did not say that there were any such,—he hoped there were not ;—but if there were any such, he would much rather lay the first stone for a bridge to enable Buonaparté to come to this country, than support such principles. It had been said, that he had entered into a compromise with the Duke of Northumberland respecting the representation of the City of Westminster. He certainly had never entered into any such compromise ;—he was almost ashamed to have to repel such an insinuation. But the fact was, that he believed that he should not have a single vote that could be influenced by that nobleman. The motives were best known to that nobleman himself. But he had still to boast the support of the old and tried friends of Mr. Fox and the constitution,—the house of Russell and the house of Cavendish. He then again adverted to the disgraceful scenes in the morning, and observed that he would always endeavour to maintain and beseech peace ; but that his Electors must not be disturbed in coming to give their votes ; and as far as sir Francis Burdett or Mr. Paull were concerned in these outrages, they must answer to him.—The speech was received with the most enthusiastic applauses. He concluded by proposing as a toast, " The Independent Electors of Westminster."

Mr. BARRY (Lord Barrymore's brother) pressed upon the minds of the Electors, the necessity of
of

of an early attendance at the Hustings next morning, and of using every effort to secure the return of his right hon. friend.

Mr. JAMES PERRY (one of the proprietors of the Morning Chronicle) enforced the necessity of exertion, from the unparalleled species of tumult with which Mr. Sheridan, as well as sir Samuel Hood, had been assailed in the outset of the contest this day. In the professions of the other Candidate, they were told, that there was to be no parade, no colours, no expence; and yet upon no former occasion was there ever exhibited such a tumultuous display of extravagance and dissipation. It seemed as if a Nabob, or at least the agent of a Nabob, had come among them;—and the principles which he professed were as extraordinary as the pomp which he exhibited. They were principles such as they had never heard in Westminster, and such as were incompatible with every thing like order and government. They went to the exclusion of every man from the service of his country whom the people approved, and thus went to the total overthrow of the well-beloved system of our constitution; since, if the voice, approbation, and support of the people were not to be titles to public employment, we were to have only for Ministers, the creatures of a despot, in the character either of a king or a demagogue. These were not doctrines that would suit the intelligent Electors of Westminster. They would not accept of a *Marat* nor of a *Marattah*. They had cherished the sound British principles of Mr. Fox, and were not to be

drawn from the rational system which even, after all that we had suffered, left us the most free, and therefore the most happy people upon earth. The example of France had had its effect upon them. They knew well, that if there had not been a Robespierre, there would not now be a Buonaparté. The conduct of their opponents had this day been in one respect political, though not very decent. They had paid the highest compliment to the talents of Mr. Sheridan, by the preparations they had made to stifle his voice. They knew that it was only necessary for the people to hear him, to be convinced. They dreaded his eloquence, and still more his principles, for they well knew that in the long course of his public service by the side of Mr. Fox, he had, on every occasion of danger to the state, whether from the side of power against the privileges of the people, or from that of momentary delusion, as in the instance of the mutiny in the fleet, had been always the warm and steady friend of his country. As to place, if place had been his object without principle, every one knew that it was always within his grasp. Temptations of every kind had been held out to him, and it was the glory of his character, that with the most disinterested spirit, he had resisted every allure-ment to draw him from his friends. Independence did not always flow from fortune. Independence was of various sorts; and he surely could not claim the proud distinction, who surrendered up his understanding to a political tutor; nor would the Electors of Westminster consider that Candidate

date

date as independent, who came there, not seeking to be the Representative of Westminster, but of Wimbledon. He concluded with proposing a parochial canvass by distinct committees ; which was agreed to.—The meeting separated at an early hour, for the purpose of using every exertion for the support of Mr. Sheridan.

To the Independent Electors of Westminster.

A few plain Questions from one of yourselves :

Do we want an independent man in the House of Commons, to whose honest integrity we must commit the disposal of our rights and properties, and defend the only remaining vestige of that Constitution which our ancestors so dearly obtained?

If we do—Is it probable a Candidate, who is a placeman under government, with a very large salary, upon any question relative to economy in the public expenditure, will vote with that integrity which should ever be the leading feature of a Member of Parliament? Would he vote against his own interest?

Are you to be infatuated out of your reason by a great number of names on a committee, many of which the public prints have declared (by authority) were put on even without the knowledge or consent of the parties?

Can the wounds of an officer, or the taking of Buenos Ayres, be any way applicable to the momentous cause before you? We all pity and sympathize

in the calamity of an individual. We all wish him where he might be most serviceable—fighting against the natural enemies of our country, on his own element.

Have you not lately had proof of the *propriety* of electing a Naval Officer? Did he ever attend his duty? is it possible he could? Can any man fight in two situations so opposite? You know how to esteem and appreciate the worth of a Naval Officer: but every man to his station!!!

As to the “Shade of Nelson,”—the immortal Nelson fought with one arm, and after many wounds: I trust and hope we shall find sir Samuel Hood following his example.

Lord Gardner, one of your late Representatives, candidly states, that his duty as an officer prevents him from performing that as a Member of Parliament. Sir Samuel Hood,—a much younger man, surely will consider the reason still more applicable to himself.

Electors, the question is, who shall ride triumphant; you or the Junto?

INDEPENDENCE AND PAULL.

AN EXCELLENT NEW SONG.

1.

Ho! Corruption stalks forward in Liberty's guise,
Freemen! rally your legions, and guard your rich prize;
Wave your banners on high, at fair Liberty's call—
Shout the watch-word aloud—*Independence and Paull!*

Chorus.—*Independence and Paull!*

Independence and Paull!

Shout the watch-word aloud—Independence and Paull!

Though

2.

Though the lovers of places and plunder may strive
Of the birth-right of Britons each man to deprive,
Let us rally around her, my boys, great and small,
And a fig for their threats :—*Independence and Paull !*

3.

Let the place-hunting crew 'gainst our politics rant,
Call us Jacobins, Traitors, and such idle cant ;
With our King we're determin'd to stand or to fall—
So success to our cause—*Independence and Paull !*

4.

He's the friend of the poor, and the freedom of man,
And will lighten our taxes as fast as he can ;
State robbers to justice he'll bring, short and tall—
So success to our cause—*Independence and Paull !*

5.

He's the man of our choice, and we'll join heart and soul,
To place him each day at the head of the poll :
Then huzza ! my brave boys ; let us shout one and all—
Here's success to our cause—*Independence and Paull !*

Chorus.—*Independence and Paull !*

Independence and Paull !

Here's success to our cause—Independence and Paull !

MR. PAULL.

Mr. James Paull has relinquished all pretensions to the representation of the City of Westminster; having accepted the office of *Master Tailor* to Drury-Lane Theatre; which lucrative employment is not tenable with a seat in Parliament.

*To the Free and Independent Electors of
Westminster.*

GENTLEMEN ;

My engagements in business have prevented me from learning, till yesterday, that your votes and interest at the ensuing Election, have been publicly solicited for my Nephew, Mr. Paull.—I cannot refrain from expressing the great satisfaction which, on my account more than your own, I feel at the unexpected honour which my worthy Nephew has the fullest confidence of receiving from your disinterested exertions in the present contest ; and if any assurances are necessary to those which you have received from him, I beg leave to assure you that the last *remnant* of his resources, in its most extravagant branches, will be *cut up* for ensuring to you the genial warmth and protection of the British Constitution.

I am, Gentlemen, with the highest respect, and esteem,

ALEXANDER PAULL,
Journeyman Tailor to J. Lambert,
No. 4, Suffolk-street, Charing-Cross.

For further particulars enquire as above, from 6 in the morning till 7 at night.

A stupid and scandalous hand-bill was yesterday stuck up and circulated in the neighbourhood of Drury-lane and Somerset-house ; containing a

mean attempt to libel Mr. Paull, but meant, in fact, to do mischief to Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Sheridan's Committee immediately discovered this imposture, and a similar stupid libel against Mr. Sheridan. As an answer to this has been equally disavowed by Mr. Paull's Committee, the quarter from which these tricks originate is known, and will be revealed. *November 4.*

The following hand-bill has been industriously circulated by the enemies of Mr. Paull and Freedom.

“ Mr. James Paull has relinquished all pretensions to the Representation of the City
 “ of Westminster ; having accepted the office
 “ of *Master Tailor* to Drury-Lane Theatre ;
 “ which lucrative employment is not tenable
 “ with a seat in Parliament.”

The above pitiful attempt (even if it were not, as it is, scandalously false) could never be considered as a degradation, for Mr. Paull glories in the character of an independent British Trader, and feels that any occupation of an honest man, is an honourable one !

ELECTION QUERY.

Who is Mr. Paull?—Mr. James Paull, Candidate for Westminster, is not a relation of sir George Onesiphorus Paul, bart. ; nor of John Paul Paul, esq., Sheriff of Wiltshire ; nor of Lieut. Paul ;

Paul; nor of the late emperor Paul of Russia; but is the son and heir-apparent of Mr. Paull, a most respectable and fashionable Master Tailor in the town of Perth, deacon of the Guild of that town.—N. B. For the benefit of persons addressing letters to Mr. Paull, it may be useful to observe, that he spells his name with a double L, having added an *ell* to the ancient name of Paul.

QUERY:

ARE the Duties of a Member of Parliament a farce?—NO.

Do they not require constant attention?—YES.

Are the Duties of a Naval Officer a farce?—NO.

Do they not require unceasing attention?—YES.

Has not Lord Gardner told us, the two Situations are incompatible?—HE HAS.

Would you then, Electors, have the House of Commons adjourned to the Quarter-deck of a Man of War; or send it to a man who, when he should be in *St. Stephen's Chapel*, may, if the minister chooses, be at *Trinidad*?

SECOND DAY.

Tuesday, November 4, 1806.

The polling commenced at nine o'clock ; and notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the crowd was nearly as great as on Monday, and, if possible, more noisy and turbulent. Mr. Paull's voters were greeted with the loudest shouts of applause ; Sir Samuel Hood's were received with a mixture of cheers and hisses ; while Mr. Sheridan's were assailed with groans, screams, hisses, hooting, growling, roaring, and railing. At four o'clock the Poll closed : but before the numbers were announced,

Mr. PETER MOORE stepped forward and apologized for the absence of Mr. Sheridan. He had been confined to his bed by indisposition, and his physician, doctor Bain, had given it as his opinion that it would be unsafe for him to attend that day on the Hustings. Notwithstanding the manner in which that gentleman had been at this time received among them, they might be assured he loved them still, and that there was no one who would do more to promote their real and substantial interests. They might not, perhaps, be sensible of this, in the moment of heat and passion. Mr. Sheridan knew, that whatever enmity might be shewn to him by the people, must be founded in error ; and would be laid aside the moment they began to reflect coolly. He therefore begged of them to open their eyes, and know their real from
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their professing friends.—Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the poll for the present, he had no doubt of ultimate success. The rational and reflecting must be convinced of the superior pretensions of his friend; and of them he requested a firm and persevering exertion in the cause of Mr. Sheridan,—of genuine Freedom and tried Independence.

Sir S. HOOD then briefly addressed the people. He was a warm friend to the constitution of this Country, and would always maintain that, as well as the interests of the City of Westminster, to the utmost of his power. He strongly recommended it to his friends to exert themselves, and put a speedy issue to the contest.

Colonel FULLARTON next addressed the Electors. He had no sooner commenced, than he was interrupted, not only by that part of the populace who were of the opposite party, but by sir S. Hood himself; who, in order to silence him, asserted, that he was no Elector; and stated, that if he had any thing to charge against him, he ought first to have communicated it in private.—The noise and confusion were now so great, that neither the one nor the other of these gentlemen could be heard.

Mr. PAULL expressed his hope, that the independent Electors of Westminster would hear an hon. and worthy friend of his, who had come forward to denounce a public character. He assured them upon his honour, that he had not known of col. Fullarton's intention of coming, and was not acquainted with what he was going to say. The
colonel

colonel had, however, something to urge against sir S. Hood, and he thought he ought to be heard.

Colonel FULLARTON here again attempted, amidst the greatest tumult, uproar, and confusion, to urge his charges against the gallant admiral; but his voice was completely drowned amidst the uproar and tumult. He stated, that he had charges of the most serious nature to make against sir Samuel:—he had supported governor Picton in some of his acts in Trinidad, for which his conduct was now under investigation in the Privy Council. Of the principles on which governor Picton had acted, the public had already a specimen before them, in the trial respecting Louisa Calderon. Though sir S. Hood had been connected with this man, he might, notwithstanding, be a brave, an active, and a skilful officer: but till the investigation respecting his conduct was finished, he was surely a most unfit representative of a free people.

It was impossible to collect, with accuracy, what the speaker said. A party on the Hustings joined with the crowd in perpetually hallooing—“Off, Fullarton—Private malice.”—“Are you not ashamed of yourself?” “Your character is known—Hood for ever!—Off Fullarton; you are not a candidate—I see you; I see your d—d face.” With many other exclamations of the same nature. This, joined with perpetual groans and hisses, rendered it impossible for the colonel to speak so as to be distinctly heard; and he at last desisted.

Sir S. HOOD said, that whatever charges colonel

Fullarton had to bring against him, he would answer in the proper place.

The High Bailiff then announced the State of the Poll as follows :

Mr. Paull 792

Sir Samuel Hood 553

Mr. Sheridan 394

MR. PAULL then presented himself to the notice of the Electors. He said, he had again to announce to them another proud triumph;—he had to announce the triumph of the Independent Electors of Westminster over the two Court Candidates. It had been said, at a meeting which had been convened for the purpose of libelling them, that he had hired the rabble, with a view to support his Election. Hired whom?—Them;—the Independent Electors of Westminster, who came there without a switch in their hands to exercise their constitutional right of electing a Representative on whom they could depend. The morning papers of the day had stated, that he, and sir F. Burdett, sensible of the weakness of their cause, had been obliged to arm bludgeon-men to promote it. But Sir F. Burdett, who loved the king and the constitution, and who would adhere to both, when deserted by placemen and pensioners;—that great character, Sir Francis Burdett, and he, came forward to stand upon the support of the Independent Electors of Westminster and Middlesex; against the court and the minister;—against the most formidable combination that had ever been entered into against the rights and liberties of the people.

people.—[*Loud applauses.*] They were strong in the opinion of the Independent Electors, and wanted not the aid of bludgeon-men. He had only to beg, to entreat, to beseech them, to come as heretofore, unarmed, whilst it should be necessary for them to attend, in order to secure the election of a man who would never desert them. He was sorry to be obliged to trespass upon their time, but he felt it necessary to make one observation more. His enemies had represented that he ought not to be chosen for Westminster, because he had not ribbands, and had not been descended from noble ancestry. He had only to say, that he might have had a ribband as broad as that which was worn by the Candidate who had just left them, [*alluding to sir S. Hood*], if he would have consented to surrender his independence. He called on the Electors not to relax in their efforts, but, by continued exertions, to put his election, which was then almost certain, beyond all doubt. It was the intention of their enemies to keep the Poll open as long as they could; but he besought his friends to press to the Poll to-morrow, so as to put an end to the contest at once.—Mr. Paull retired amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, who (although drenched to the skin by the continued rain, which had prevailed during the whole proceedings) insisted upon taking the horses from his carriage, and drawing him in triumph to his house in Charles-street, St. James's-Square, accompanied with a band of music.

*Mr. Paull's Second Address to the Independent
Electors of Westminster.*

GENTLEMEN ;

As we proceed in this our honourable pursuit,—the restoration of the Freedom of this great and populous and industrious and public-spirited City, our prospect becomes more fair, and our success more certain. The truly noble exertions which you have made this day, while they command gratitude the most sincere and unbounded on my part, afford me the fullest assurance of the continuance of your zeal, and of the glorious triumph which that zeal will finally give us.—Gentlemen ; I am sure you will not fail to participate with me in feelings of indignation against those of our adversaries, who, while they have openly employed bludgeon-men, for the vain purpose of intimidating you from performing your sacred duty, have had the assurance to accuse me of having hired persons to make a clamour, and to drown the voice of my opponents. As if, Gentlemen, it were necessary to hire you to express your detestation and abhorrence of those whom you regard as enemies to the liberties of your Country, and to the real glory and permanent authority of your King ! No, Gentlemen ; it is a truth, and a truth at which court sycophants and arrogant ministers may tremble, that eight hundred Electors of Westminster have, in the two last days, given me their votes, without having received from me, or from any

one else, so much as a single pot of porter. I have only to request most earnestly, that, both collectively and individually, you will use all the expedition in your power in coming forward to the Poll, that we may conclude the contest as speedily as possible, and that the defeat of our enemies may be as signal as their confidence and arrogance have been unbounded.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obliged friend and servant,

Charles-street, St. James's-Square,

JAMES PAULL.

Nov. 4, 1806.

Mr. Paull's Committee sit at Hudson's Hotel, Covent-Garden; where it is requested every communication for promoting the success of that gentleman may be addressed. The Committee sit daily from eight in the morning till twelve at night.

THIRD DAY.

Wednesday, November 5, 1806.

At the close of the Poll the numbers were as follows:

Mr. Paull 1516

Sir Samuel Hood 1281

Mr. Sheridan 789

Mr. PETER MOORE stepped forward and observed, that those to whom he now addressed himself were no doubt friends of Liberty. He was himself a friend to Liberty. As a proof and example of their love of freedom, he hoped they would allow him the liberty to speak. If they did not, he should conclude that they would not, if the matter rested with them, allow him liberty in any thing else, and consequently that they were not friends to real Freedom. Mr. Paull was but a satellite of their little god sir Francis Burdett, and certainly the liberties of Westminster were too valuable to be entrusted to a light which might be so easily extinguished. The moment sir Francis withdrew his beams, the little satellite would sink into obscurity. Again he was obliged to apologize for his right hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan). Nothing but necessity could have kept him away. But the moment his physician had set him on his legs, he would himself attend and tell them in a much more able manner than he (Mr. M.) could do, the sincere love which he had for the liberties of the people. The minority in which his right hon.

hon. friend stood on the poll neither discouraged his expectations, nor damped in the smallest degree his reliance for ultimate success. It was to be accounted for, not from the want of numerous and most respectable friends to come forward, but from the riotous and disorderly conduct of the supporters of sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Paull, who for three whole days, had deterred and kept back the friends of Mr. Sheridan and the gallant officer who stood near him: 2000 more of whom would otherwise have been already added to the number of votes in their favour. [No! no! no! from a thousand voices.] Mr. Moore was inaudible in the short remainder of his speech, except in the concluding exclamation of—"Sheridan and Hood for ever!"

Sir SAMUEL HOOD next came forward. He said, the additional and very flattering proof of his success on this day's poll, was a new and honourable pledge of attachment, from the Independent Electors, to his cause, and shewed him, that their generous and liberal minds were far indeed from receiving the slightest bias, from the gross and unprecedented attempt of Col. Fullarton, yesterday, to calumniate his character, and prejudice them against him. But, as an answer to similar representations laid before his Majesty and the privy council, he begged leave to observe, that he had since been distinguished by the best of Sovereigns with many signal marks of royal favour. He entreated the zealous perseverance of his friends tomorrow, and had no doubt of final success.

Mr. PAULL came forward, and thanked the Electors for the very zealous support he had this day received, and the signal majority in which they had placed him. That majority he attributed to the glorious support of sir Francis Burdett and the Independent Electors of Westminster. Much had been said of attempts to calumniate the character of the gallant officer, one of his competitors; he was conscious, however, of no such attempt on his part. He had never ventured to cast odium upon the character of that gallant officer. He entertained the highest respect for his public character, and he knew nothing of his private one. The pretence of implicating him in any such attempt was a trick he should be able to defeat. The charges against the gallant officer were brought forward, not by him, nor at his instance. He stood not there to calumniate the gallant officer, but merely to oppose him as a Candidate in this election. He begged now to observe that the hireling newspapers of this morning were again at work in endeavouring to calumniate himself and his friends, and charging him with having gained his majorities by bribery: but he could lay his hand to his heart, and declare upon his honour, that, of 1516 voters who had already come forward in his support, he never had given to any one man so much as a ribbon or a pot of porter: though a Mr. Denis O'Bryen had thought proper to assert that any porter might procure 3000 votes in the City of Westminster, provided he had *porter* enough to give them. He did not think it necessary

cessary to say more at present, but merely to observe, that it was necessary for the Electors to come up early the next day; because an Election for Westminster must be expensive, especially as his purse and theirs were opposed to the treasury. He said *their* purses, because from them would come the taxes that paid the expences of the Court Candidate.

This speech was received with loud acclamations. Mr. Gibbons and some others attempted to speak, and one or two of them said a few words amidst an incessant noise which prevented us from hearing them.

REWARD OF ONE HUNDRED POUNDS.

Whereas on Monday evening, after the close of the poll, a daring and desperate assault was made on the right hon. R. B. Sheridan, immediately as he passed through the door of the Hustings, particularly by three ruffians, who, it appears, had planted themselves there for that purpose: one of whom, named Davenport, now in custody, and committed for trial, aimed a stroke at Mr. Sheridan's head, which, by testimony of four respectable witnesses, would probably have killed him on the spot, had not his weapon been arrested; and there being reason to believe that the other two were known to some of the persons near, this is to give notice, that a reward of one hundred pounds will be paid by this committee, on the detection, apprehension, and conviction of either of the said offenders.

Nov. 5, 1806.

PETER MOORE, Chairman.

Mr. Sheridan's Second Address.

*To the Worthy and Independent Electors of the
City of Westminster.*

GENTLEMEN ;

Impressed with every sentiment of gratitude for the hitherto almost unsolicited support I have received, I beg leave to assure you, that I am not in the least dismayed at the present appearance of the poll. The circumstances of various kinds, which, from the day of the dissolution of parliament, have interfered with and delayed the necessary arrangements for a proper canvass for this extensive City, as well as my own personal exertions, it would be, at this moment, an useless intrusion to detail to you ; I only entreat you to attribute this seeming neglect to any other cause than the slightest want of respect, either on the part of my friends or myself towards Electors, who have it in their power to bestow the highest honour which political ambition can merit, or aspire to. I have now the satisfaction to inform you, that a systematical arrangement of canvass is established, which, I doubt not, under your protection and indulgence, will speedily recover the ground lost by past omissions. I have greatly to regret, that the course I had entered upon, for paying, as far as possible, my personal respects to you, has been interrupted by unexpected indisposition ; and I trust to your kindness, to make allowance for the cause. I hope,

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to-morrow, to be able to resume my duty in this respect, as far as the state of the Election, and the difficulty of yielding to any preference in attention will admit of.—Of the ultimate success of a combined, zealous, and persevering exertion, I have no doubt. The accomplishment of my personal wishes or ambition, is nothing in the great cause in which we are engaged ; and to the maintenance of that cause, amply indeed to be affected by the event of the present contest, will I devote every energy I am capable of ; while there is an Elector, who, with me, wishes to defend it, left unpolled in this great and renowned City. I have the honour to be, with the highest respect and sincerest devotion,

Somerset-Place,
Nov. 5, 1806.

Your obedient servant,

R. B. SHERIDAN.

Coalition between Sir S. Hood and Mr. Sheridan.

At a meeting of the friends of the right hon. R. B. Sheridan, and sir S. Hood, bart. K. B., it was resolved, That a central committee should be formed to conduct the joint Election of the above gentlemen.—That the said committee shall meet every day at ten o' clock in the morning, at the St. Alban's tavern, in St. Alban's-street, St. James's, where all communications will be received relating to the Election of the said Candidates.—That there be a committee at Fisher's rooms, King-street, Covent-garden, where the several Electors are requested to assemble, and proper persons will be appointed to conduct them to the Hustings.—The
worthy

worthy and independent Electors of Westminster are earnestly requested to poll for the right hon. R. B. Sheridan, and sir S. Hood, bart. K. B.— That a power be given to this committee to admit such additional members as they may think fit.

MR. SHERIDAN AND MR. PAULL.

[*From the Morning Chronicle.*]

Sir ; the state of the poll for the City of Westminster for these three days past, must excite astonishment or apprehension in the minds of every considerate man in the kingdom, who reviews the different Candidates, and reflects upon the nature of their pretensions. It has sometimes happened that boroughs have been taken by surprise, and that the predominant interests have been overpowered by a sudden and unexpected attack. On the present occasion I have heard it said, that Mr. Paull could not be a member for the City of Westminster ; and yet we see the progress he has made towards the head of the poll ! I know that many think it impossible that the Electors of this City should be guilty of so monstrous an absurdity, as to select the person and the principles of Mr. Paull, while they have eyes to see, or judgement to reason. They ought now to remember however, that those who have it in their power to rescue the seat of the government of the British empire, from the disgrace that threatens it, have but a few days more to repair the effects of their indolence by their future activity. On the claims of sir S. Hood it is needless to enlarge, because even those who have

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laid down the principle that he is unfit, as a Naval Officer, to be a Member of Parliament, find it in vain to press their argument against the honest feeling of those whom in other points they have deluded. Let us consider what are the pretensions of Mr. Paull, compared with those of Mr. Sheridan.—There is no wonder that the faction of those who are neither friends to their country, nor its king and constitution, should make such efforts to seize by their own force or fraud, or by the indolence and apathy of their opponents, upon the Representation of this City. They know the importance they would acquire by the conquest and subjugation of the capital and seat of government. Sir Francis Burdett, the organ and the minister of the first consul at Wimbledon, long since told us of his doubts, whether there “*were any thing in the country worth defending?*” he has now told us that Buonaparté, at the head of 500,000 mercenaries in military array against us, is less dangerous than a hundred mercenaries, which he falsely supposes to be in the house of commons.—Mark the artifice of the statement, and its conclusion! sir F. Burdett means to assert, what is notoriously a falsehood, that there are a hundred mercenaries in the house of commons ready to betray their country. Buonaparté, we know, has long threatened us with his 500,000 troops. What is the patriotic inference from these premises? Nothing else, but that we have more danger to fear from the house of commons than from Buonaparté. Mr. Paull has, at the Hustings, as well as on other occasions,

occasions, avowed that the principles of sir Francis are his principles. And is this a recommendation to the vast majority of the enlightened voters of this City? Is it a recommendation to the friends of Mr. Fox, that Mr. Paull is the second-hand retailer of the abuse which has been cast upon that great man—the disciple of him who has wantonly endeavoured to tarnish the lustre of Mr. Fox's reputation? At the very moment when those who had been the enemies of Mr. Fox were weeping over his grave, it remained for sir F. Burdett, who had professed himself his friend, to disturb, by his dissonant yells of savage triumph, that grief which every man's breast felt for the public loss. At a moment when rivalry had ceased, when enmity was softened, when former friendship and animosity were mingled in common expressions of regret for the death of Mr. Fox, sir F. Burdett alone came forward to mock at the general grief, and to scoff at the man whom all lamented. Was this generous? Was this manly? Had Mr. Fox been even his political foe, he should have remembered that there are times when, for the sake of decency and of human nature, the angry passion should cease:

“Vile is the vengeance on the ashes cold,
“And envy base to bark at sleeping fame.”

But by the morality of the school where sir Francis Burdett has been formed, it seems that friendship is to be sacrificed on the tomb of the dead, and malevolence is kindled where it ought to be extinguished.

Is it to the friends of Mr. Fox then that Mr. Paull addresses himself; or can he expect support from them? Is it to the friends of government that he can look, who deliberately declares himself the disciple of him who has said, that no man trusted by the crown, is fit to be a Representative of the people? If Mr. Paull is returned member for this City, every man must conclude that the constitution, as it now exists, is condemned by the suffrages of the Electors of Westminster—the seat of the king's government.—Mr. Paull is professedly a Candidate upon the interest of those who are avowedly hostile to the principles of this government. Let those who support him, from whatever motives, think of the consequences of enabling him to strike with effect at what he aims to destroy.—But if there be any of the sober, rational friends of Liberty who are in danger of being beguiled by the professions of Mr. Paull, let them reflect a little before they listen to the exaggerated professions of one but little known to them, in opposition to one whom they dare not accuse of having, in a single instance, sought place at the expence of his duty and of the public interests.—Of Mr. Paull, though I happen to know something, I will say nothing but what arises from his public conduct, as far as all have witnessed it. He claims the confidence of the public, because he has strenuously persisted in his accusation of lord Wellesley. This is one of his pretensions.—Of the merits and demerits of lord Wellesley's administration in India, I am perfectly certain that the gentlemen assembled

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before the Hustings at Covent Garden, are not competent judges. But they are judges of such plain facts, as whether a man's conduct in particular instances has coincided with his professions.—Mr Paull professes that he will serve the people, and none but them, under the auspices of sir F. Burdett. Even if there were merit in the profession, are we to believe him, if we have seen this very man profess sentiments he did not feel, and respect he never entertained?—In a letter to lord Wellesley, dated the 5th Dec., 1802, after all the enormities of which he now accuses lord Wellesley had been committed, Mr. Paull professes confidence in the excessive wise, liberal, and enlightened policy, that marked every act of the administration of his excellency;—"to whom no man ever complained in vain, who complained with justice."—These have been Mr. Paull's professions. I do not quote the above letter (which I defy Mr. Paull to deny) for the purpose of entering into a controversy about lord Wellesley. I appeal, however, to every honourable man, to every gentleman, whether it be possible that any person of spirit and honour could so write to one whose whole conduct he disapproved, and whom he had resolved to impeach for the greatest crimes? But Mr. Paull did so. What is the conclusion? but that when it suits his purpose, when convenient for his interest, Mr. Paull can profess sentiments he does not feel; that he is capable of every kind of simulation and dissimulation for the most sordid ends.—I am confident Mr. Paull can offer no other apology for
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the language alluded to, but that either he thought favourably of lord Wellesley at the time, or that he employed it to gain a selfish object. But, be this as it may, the style of the address betrays a mean and abject spirit, totally unworthy of esteem or confidence. It is the language of a *valet-de-chambre* suing for an indulgence from his master : It shews a sycophancy which no gentleman could feel, or express. I have heard it often said, that Mr. Paull has assailed lord Wellesley from motives of personal enmity. It appears probable at least that he might unjustly attack the man he had so basely flattered.—What then are the pretensions of this Mr. Paull, from the account he gives of himself, “even if he speaks the truth?” Unknown, as he confesses himself to be to the City of Westminster, he rests his pretensions upon his prosecution of Lord Wellesley, whom he has so lately flattered. Either he has been a base sycophant, or he is now a false accuser. His other claim is, that he is the disciple of sir F. Burdett. And, on these grounds, he comes forward to oppose Mr. Sheridan !—It is indeed a painful thing to see Mr. Sheridan even opposed by such a person as Mr. Paull ; but to see the adulatory, false, and deceitful professions of the latter, preferred to the long, faithful services of the former, is intolerable. Much has been written and much said of the levity of the ungrateful multitude ; but if such an adventurer as Mr. Paull, whose whole stock of patriotism lies in empty professions of integrity unvouched, and of purity absolutely disproved, is

to rise over the head of Mr. Sheridan, farewell for ever all fair, honest, and disinterested endeavours to serve the people ! They can never have profitable servants, who shew themselves unthankful masters. The base malignant insinuation, that Mr. Sheridan had changed his heart and character because he had accepted a high public situation, could only proceed from a mind either conscious of the falsehood of the charge, or of its own depravity. In the eyes of such men as Mr. Sheridan, office is only the means of better serving the public, or it has no charms at all. Mr. Sheridan, of all men, has shewn that he was far above the temptation. Let Mr. Paull serve, like Mr. Sheridan, for 25 years, amidst all seductions, before he has the presumption to contend with Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Paull is but starting ; Mr. Sheridan has reached the goal : and what judges must they be who would tear the laurel from his brows, to deck those of an equivocal adventurer ? What assembly of men, in the least sensible to the distinctions of genius and excellence, could hesitate one moment between the claims of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Paull ?—But while Mr. Sheridan has been the advocate of the just constitutional rights of the people, he has been the steady supporter of the throne. The last, indeed, may be his crime in the eyes of some ;—and for this, upon him, living, as upon Mr. Fox, dead, their wrath is poured out. Mr. Sheridan, too, on every trying occasion, has been the bold asserter of the true interests and honour of his Country. — Is it not then disgraceful, not merely
to

to Westminster, but to England, that between such competitors the victory should even be doubtful? On the one side, Mr. Sheridan, as an orator now unrivalled; as a politician, the acknowledged organ of true patriotic sentiment, the incorruptible assertor of the rights of the people: On the other, Mr. Paull, a person in whom the most consummate assurance supplies the place of ordinary talents;—a man of no education, of no acquirements; who has hitherto given no pledge of general political character, and is more than suspected in the only public question with which he has connected his name, of being either the vindictive enemy, or the interested agent. Let the Electors of Westminster fairly weigh and decide.—But be it remembered that there are questions now depending upon this issue, of more importance than the claims of an individual. Principles are now boldly avowed, incompatible with the existence of all government; and an attempt is made to fix their head-quarters in the seat of the royal authority. It is declared that no man is worthy to be a representative of the people, who is honoured with the confidence of the chief magistrate; and that he who serves his Sovereign, is disabled to serve the Country. When the converse has been maintained, the proposition has been admitted to be full of danger. If the favour of the people were to be considered as an argument of exclusion by the court, where could upright and faithful ministers be procured? If, on the other hand, it is to be held as a principle, independent of all proof, that office is a forfeiture of public

public confidence, what must be the consequences, but perpetual hostility, where harmony should prevail; and, in fine, the overthrow of the constitution?—I call therefore upon all honest men of every party to rescue Westminster from the disgrace of being represented by Mr. Paull, and to save the nation from the predominance of principles which are as incompatible with popular rights, as they are with all respectable government.

I am, &c.

November 5.

CAMILLUS.

PAULL AND PLUMPERS.

Tune—DROPS OF BRANDY.

1.

Good lads! in this City that dwell,
 I call on you now, one and all,
 And hope my advice will sound well,
 When I bid you give plumpers for PAULL;
 For he is the man of all others,
 Who daily for Liberty fights, sirs,
 And sees that the *broad-bottom'd* brothers
 Don't narrow the Englishman's rights, sirs.
Rumpti, &c.
Away, and give plumpers to Paull.

2.

Sammy Hood, who now tries to get in,
 Must 'nt *Hood-wink* you out of your senses;
 For your Freedom he cares not a pin,
 Tho' about it he makes such pretences:
 For if you a seat give him here,
 He'll sell you, and pocket the fee, sirs;
 With *Piston* the booty will share:
 Then *sheer* his old hulk off to sea, sirs.

Dicky

3.

Dicky Sheridan surely is mad,
 His senses are gone to Old Davy ;
 For all he has done has been bad,
 Since Treasurer made of the Navy :
 With six thousand a year which he gets,
 And perquisites not very few, sirs,
 He will not pay off his *old debts*,
 But goes on contracting of *new*, sirs.

4.

You cannot forget t'other day,—
 When he whimper'd, and snivell'd, and whin'd,
 And crocodile tears found their way,
 More surely the people to blind,—
 How he play'd with you, just like a toy,
 While your rights, like a bauble, he flung, sirs,
 To your choice recommended a boy,
 More *Piercingly* 'cause he was young, sirs.

5.

Independence is Paull's righteous creed,
 And honesty reigns at his heart ;
 No pension or place will succeed
 To make him desert the good part :
 Th' Oppressor he'll hunt from each place,
 Tho' he hide himself ever so WELL'SLY,
 Nor ever will give up the chace,
 But for Freedom will conquer or well die.

*Then hie to the Hustings, Electors ;
 Your Votes freely give when they call ;
 Ne'er mind yon bold thundering Hectors,
 But answer with Plumpers to PAULL.*

MR. PAULL AND THE NABOB OF OUDE.

To Mr. James Paull.

SIR;

I shall assign the same reason for this letter, that you have in that addressed by you to lord Folkestone, namely, that it appears to me necessary, under the present circumstances, to make known to the world some interesting facts; and I shall depend on the sound judgment and high sense of honour of a British Public; and, peculiarly at this moment, of the independent Electors of Westminster, for the conclusions which they will draw from their statement.—Previously to your leaving England the last time, you say that you were honoured with particular marks of kindness by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales; and that you considered yourself as belonging to his party: without enquiring into the truth of this assertion, I can only regret, that the Prince's condescension should have been so abused; but that you should presume to calumniate His Royal Highness, by arrogating to yourself the distinction of belonging to his party (as you insidiously term an union of friends known only for their exalted character and talent, and their steady adherence to the inviolable constitution of their Country), and that, for the vile purpose of mixing the black intents of your heart with the love and reverence we feel for the Prince's name and authority, is the most impudent

udent attempt that profligacy and pride ever suggested.—When you left England, you solicited from some gentlemen introductory letters to marquis Wellesley; and as your real character had not then appeared, some were unfortunately given you;—unfortunately, as the base return you have made to these introductions might operate on the minds of men filling high situations, to the prejudice of honest and deserving characters, soliciting the same indulgence. Upon your arrival in India, how did you stand? You represented that your own private concerns, and others with which you were entrusted, required your presence in Oude; you solicited lord Wellesley's permission to proceed there. You talked then, as you do now to the Electors of Westminster, of your eternal gratitude, and dwelt in the strongest manner on the ruin you should sustain if his lordship refused his permission.—It is ever a disgusting office to trace and detail the black ingratitude of the human heart. You were permitted to proceed up the country, and that at a time when it was thought right to refuse many other adventurers; when you well knew strong representations had been made against granting you permission, and when your private affairs would have suffered ruin by your not going. I am not the unqualified panegyrist of marquis Wellesley; I respect his superior talents as a man; I honour his conduct as a governor; and I assert, without the fear of contradiction from those who have the honour of knowing him, and from every impartial mind, that cruelty and

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oppression

oppression are as remote from the feelings of his lordship's heart, as honour and gratitude are from those of Mr. Paull's; yet from the mouth outwards no man professes to feel more; you did so on this occasion, notwithstanding some of those oppressive acts, as you term them, which you have since charged lord Wellesley with, had then taken place, and which you say you were resolved to make the subject of legal investigation. I am sure that there is scarcely a man in his Majesty's dominions but will feel, equally with me, the utmost contempt for such duplicity.—Brought now on the stage in Oude, to which province you were permitted to go by the particular indulgence of lord Wellesley, how did you fill your part there? Were you solely employed in the manufacturing of indigo, and other obvious pursuits, the ostensible motives for your going? Can you say that you were alone sedulously occupied in supporting the character of a British merchant; who, while intent on the acquisition of wealth, makes its pursuit ever subservient to the preservation of a fair and unblemished name? Did not your ardent mind pant for something original, and soar beyond the tedious process of making indigo, or judging of the fitness of cloths for the market? Had you never heard of a nearer road to wealth, in which the extravagant and puerile pursuits of the Nabob afforded an ample field for a less conscientious trader? Propensities where you well knew every art and incitement was practised to encourage them; and every base and unworthy advantage taken in gratifying

gratifying them. This, Mr. Paull, is the real source of much of his Highness's embarrassments: what consummate hypocrisy must you, then, be gifted with, to affect the appearance of feeling, and the cant of commiseration for the Nabob's pecuniary difficulties; what unblushing impudence must you possess, to accuse lord Wellesley of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression towards his Highness, in the representations it was necessary to make to procure the payment of the arrears due to the government of India; and the measures that were afterwards necessarily taken to enforce those just demands? During your residence in Oude, when you had finally quitted it, and returned to Calcutta, you still professed to have the same sense of the great obligations you were under to lord Wellesley. You did not journey, as Saul did towards Damascus, breathing threatenings and vengeance; but you affected to come in the pure spirit of gratitude and peace: and for some time after your arrival in Calcutta, you continued to receive civilities from his lordship! On the occasion of a brilliant victory obtained by the British troops under lord Lake, you solicited to be the bearer of marquis Wellesley's dispatches to England; but for which trust an officer, deservedly high in the opinion of lord Lake, and who was qualified, by having been in the action, to give all necessary information, was selected by the marquis. Had you succeeded in this application, Mr. Paull, you would have exhibited a new fea-

ture in the depravity of the human heart ; a man soliciting to be entrusted with dispatches, the subject of which he had formed the design of making a matter of charge against his employer. Disappointed in this endeavour, you next solicited for his lordship's permission to embark in the Company's packet that was taken up for this service ; but the regulations of the Court of Directors prevented its being granted. Determined upon returning to England, you now no longer thought it necessary to preserve the appearance of being grateful to lord Wellesley ; the mask dropped, and you stood forth in your native deformity : like the reptile in the fable, you sought to sting the hand that had benefited you ; where-ever you were admitted, you obtruded your bitter clamours against that nobleman, and invaded the happiness of social intercourse, with the rancour of your remarks against your benefactor. I think I hear the indignant mind ask, Is this man an Englishman ? I have now filled up a very considerable hiatus in your history ; and I challenge you to disprove a single word. Since your return, your conduct is before the public, on which there remains little to add by way of comment. It is fortunate for the happiness of mankind, that the designs of the most artful and mischievous almost ever unintentionally develop themselves. You say that you are yet young enough to see other days, and a far other spirit animate the People of Great Britain. As you come from the North, I know not how far you
may

may be gifted with second sight; but if your pre-science keeps pace with your gratitude, I am very easy as to the event; for sure I am that the good people of this realm will continue to enjoy unimpaired and undiminished, long, very long after the prophet has descended to his grave, the blessings of a well-regulated government.

London, Nov. 5, 1806.

VERITAS.

FOURTH DAY.

Thursday, November 6, 1806.

This day, the Coalition, formed on the preceding evening between the friends of sir S. Hood and Mr. Sheridan, produced a very active poll on behalf of those gentlemen. Large parties of Electors came up to the Hustings in different bodies from various parishes, led on by naval officers, bearing the banners of sir S. Hood, accompanied by parties of seamen wearing sir Samuel's cockades, and bearing laurel branches in their hands, vociferating, "Hood forever!" and preceded by fifes and drums, playing "Hearts of Oak," and "Rule Britannia;" whilst, at the other end of the scene, parties of Mr. Sheridan's friends were preceded by a posse of Hibernians from the purlieus of St. Giles's, armed with cudgels, roaring "Sheridan for ever!" and speedily clearing their way through the multitude, who fled on all sides, to avoid the active operation of their weapons. Nor was pagantry wanting to give *stage effect* to the performance; for, the last-mentioned escort ushered before the Hustings a banner-bearer, carrying at the top of a long pole a cabbage, surmounted by a smoothing-iron, such as is generally used by tailors. Next followed a man dressed in the character of an ape, borne upon a board, and surrounded by the professional implements of a Tailor; and, lastly, came a man attired in the revolutionary costume of French democracy, wearing a huge
2 hat,

hat, ludicrously adorned with the cockades and inscriptions of Mr. Paull; bearing in one hand a truncheon, inscribed "Liberty, Protection, and Peace;" and waving, with the other, one of Mr. Paull's printed bills; practising attitudes of conciliation and complaisance to the multitude in his front, while at his back he bore all the emblems of cunning, cruelty, and tyranny. The crowd was much more numerous, and the tumult much greater, than on any day since the Election commenced; at one time, indeed, there were strong apprehensions of a general riot.

On the close of the Poll, at four o'clock, the numbers stood thus:—

James Paull, Esq. 2143

Sir Samuel Hood 1927

Mr. Sheridan 1330

Mr. PETER MOORE, on behalf of Mr. Sheridan, was the first to address the people. He said, the issue of this day's poll had gone a great way to verify his predictions of yesterday, and to prove that the spirit and good sense of the respectable and independent inhabitants of Westminster were not extinguished. The exertions of this day had considerably dimmed the short-lived lustre of the satellite of sir Francis Burdett; another day of similar energy, would, he hoped, entirely put out his light. What did Mr. Paull himself tell the Electors yesterday? Why, that any *porter* in Westminster, who should become a candidate for its representation, might command 3000 votes, if he would
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but give *porter* enough to the rabble. From his success hitherto, it would appear, that he had tried the experiment. His *porter*, however, was not yet quite exhausted ; but by the time he had expended that, and polled his 3000 voters, it would soon be seen with what degree of probability he was likely to succeed in the contest. Two days ago the little satellite came to the Hustings, accompanied by his *Aid-du-Camp* colonel Fullarton, who, he expected, would materially aid his cause, by calumniating the gallant admiral with whom he contended. But what was now become of Fullarton ? After trying, in vain, to propagate his calumnies, he was scouted by the voice of popular indignation. Mr. Paull found it necessary to disclaim his acquaintance ; and the moment he was disclaimed, he vanished,—to appear no more. This was the first day in which the zeal of his supporters was really manifested for his right hon. friend. It was never before in a state of activity, and the result now proved, that the reliance he had hitherto expressed was fully justified. Yesterday Mr. Paull polled two for his one : to-day his right hon. friend polled as many as his antagonist. To-morrow he hoped to double his numbers ; and when all the gentleman's *porter* was exhausted, the little satellite would find his light completely extinguished. His right hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan) stood upon a rock too firm to be shaken by the blast of a hired rabble ; he stood upon a foundation laid by the true and independent friends of Liberty ; which all the artifices, stratagems,

stratagems, or shifts of his adversary, could not remove him from; and a day or two more, he was convinced, would completely darken the little satellite of sir Francis Burdett, who, himself, would require all their aid and assistance at Brentford in a few days. He congratulated the Electors upon the brightening prospect before them, and trusted that their exertions would place his right hon. friend in that situation that would raise him beyond all competition.

Sir S. HOOD begged leave to express his sincere thanks to the Electors, for the very handsome manner in which they had, this day, continued to honour him with their support; and he expressed his confidence, that, by the continuance of the same energies for a day or two longer, the poll would be decided in his favour. The Electors must be mindful of the calumnies attempted against him, in order to prejudice their minds. Those calumnies were attempted by a man, who came forward as the friend of Mr. Paull. This day, however, Mr. Paull had, in addition to his declaration of yesterday, personally disclaimed to him all connection with Colonel Fullerton; and, therefore, he must acquit Mr. Paull of any privity to so base a purpose. He declined trespassing farther on the attention of his friends, than to request from them an active perseverance in the zeal they had this day so generously evinced for his support.

Mr. PAULL thanked his friends for the zeal and activity they had this day manifested on his behalf, and said he had no doubt of having doubled his
majority,

majority, had it not been for the coalition of interests formed by his competitors; a measure to which they had been obviously driven by dire necessity, and without which, *one* of his antagonists at least, would have been this day obliged to relinquish the poll; nor would he at this time have had 500 honest votes in the City of Westminster, but for the influence of the Treasury exerted in his behalf. Repeatedly, in the course of this Election, had his antagonists, and the hireling prints in their pay, the hardihood to charge him not only with bribing the Electors to his support, but with hiring mobs of bludgeon-men to disturb the peace of the City, and deter their friends from venturing to approach the Hustings. Every man who heard him, must know the falsehood of such assertions. But he begged to ask *who* it was that this day brought forward the armed mob of bludgeon-men, led on by a hired gang of bruisers, ruffians, and scoundrels, to disturb the public peace, and deter *his* friends from approaching the Hustings?—or who it was that introduced the low mummeries and pantomimical tricks this day exhibited, to give *stage effect* to the proceedings of those *performers*? The public had been to-day amused by the *first act* of *Robin Hood*, and the *farce* of the *Forty Thieves*, brought forward by the *manager* as an election manœuvre; but they were careless, it would seem, of the tragedy which such riotous proceedings had heretofore excited, and might again produce. For his own part, he felt no terrors for such proceedings, while he was surrounded by 10,000 Independent Electors,

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in whose affections it was his ambition to live, and in whose protection he felt himself perfectly secure. He solemnly pledged himself to stand the poll to the last moment, and to give the really independent Electors of Westminster, an opportunity of proving to their country, and to the world, that they were not to be biassed by all the influence of a Minister, nor purchased by all the gold in the Treasury. The cause in which they were engaged, was the cause of the people of England; and if they wished to be free, they would redouble their exertions, and secure their triumph. His principles and his constitutional loyalty had been questioned by his opponents: but he challenged any man to arraign the purity of those principles, with the avowal of which, in his public advertisement from the Crown and Anchor, he had commenced his appeal to the Electors, and in which it would be his ambition to persist to the last hour of his life. Mr. Paull concluded, by vindicating himself from some charges in the *Morning Chronicle*, (see p. 58,) of ingratitude to Marquis Wellesley, for favours received from him, and an alledged connection with the native chiefs of India, by totally denying any obligations to the noble marquis, and every other concern with the princes of India, except such as a British Member of Parliament was justified to assume, on the ground of national justice and common humanity.

Coalition.

MR. SHERIDAN requests the Worthy Electors of Westminster, who honour him with their support, will also give their vote and interest to Sir Samuel Hood.

Somerset-place, Nov. 6, 1806.

SIR SAMUEL HOOD requests the Worthy Electors of Westminster, who honour him with their support, will also give their vote and interest to Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Paull's Third Address to the Free and Independent Electors of Westminster.

GENTLEMEN ;

The Coalition of our enemies you are already acquainted with ; and it has, I have no doubt, excited in your breasts that indignation, which it is so well calculated to excite in the breasts of all honest and honourable men. That the coalescing parties hate and detest each other, is notorious ; but, Gentlemen, they both hate me more than they hate one another ; because they know that my principles are in direct hostility to the system by which your properties are prostrated at the mercy of placemen and pensioners. For this cause too, it is, Gentlemen, that the whole powers of the ministers are now drawn forth against me ; that flatteries, and promises, and threats are resorted to ; but, Gentlemen, cheered as I am by your applause, supported as I am by your un-

biassed

biassed votes, I treat with scorn all the arts, and all the violence of our enemies.—Nevertheless, Gentlemen, I beseech you to remember, that, in our triumph, corruption and peculation will receive a deadly blow; that, therefore, my opponents will not fail to make desperate efforts against us; and that no means, however foul, will be spared, in order to defeat our purpose. Let me, therefore, exhort you, not to slacken in your exertions for one single moment. Let me beseech you not to repose in security, until we have completely decided the contest. Let me conjure you not to wait to see whether you are wanted; for it is now, at this moment, that you are wanted—not merely to defeat our enemies, but to cover them with disgrace, and to shew to all England, and to the world, that, however far and wide corruption has extended its baleful influence, it has not yet corroded the hearts of the Electors of Westminster. Believe me to be, Gentlemen, your obliged friend and servant,

Charles-Street, St. James's-square,
Nov. 6, 1806.

JAMES PAULI.

CLAIMS OF THE THREE CANDIDATES.

*To each Respectable and Independent Elector of
Westminster.*

Sir; When the credit and dignity of the City of Westminster, and its importance in the representation of the community at large, are at stake, it can hardly be thought unbecoming in an independent

pendent tradesman to point out to each Elector, in the most respectful mode that time will admit of, the impressions made on his own mind, in contemplating the present contest for our favour by the three Candidates who solicit it.—In this we shall all agree; that, when called upon by his Majesty, as we now are, to exercise our Elective Franchise, we should deliberately consider the pretensions of each individual who may think proper to apply for our support; and that those pretensions must rest, either on services rendered to the public, or on talents capable of rendering them, or on independence and weight of character.—If this rule be a correct one, it is our bounden duty to try it by the Claims of the three individuals who now aspire to the exalted situation of Representatives for Westminster.

SIR SAMUEL HOOD.

A naval Officer of the highest reputation; whose various and splendid services it would be an insult to your own recollection to attempt to enumerate;—who is closely allied to a Family distinguished for their gallantry and naval triumphs;—the nephew of your former much-honoured Representative;—who has devoted his whole life to the service of his King and Country;—who bears about him the badge of royal distinction and remuneration;—who, alas! also exhibits to us the affecting but glorious spectacle of an Officer, even now bleeding from his recent efforts to save and protect his Country, and who would find the best balm applied to his wounds in the attach-

ment and gratitude of his Countrymen.—This is the man whose character the vindictive malignity of a puny and base calumniator has dared to asperse! This is the man, sir, who now solicits your protection.

MR. SHERIDAN.

A gentleman of the most splendid talents and accomplishments; of first-rate eloquence and high eminence in that Assembly, of which he has been a leading member above twenty years:—A steady adherent to the party with which he was politically connected, except when the danger of the Country imperiously called on him to take a separate line;—who vigorously supported the measures for suppressing the mutiny in the navy, and for protecting the Country from invasion;—who cannot fail to be considered, by those who favoured Mr. Fox's principles, as his fittest successor;—who cannot fail to be respected by all, even the most adverse to those principles, as a true Friend to his Country, of which he has given such unequivocal proofs in the most trying moments.

MR. PAULL.

Who is he?—Literally the son of a Tailor at Perth, in Scotland!—who launched in life as a clerk to a gentleman engaged in mercantile concerns in India; who afterwards became a sort of a merchant himself; who solicited Lord Wellesley's interference with the Vizier of Oude to procure his admission into his capital, from which he was proscribed; who has not only acknowledged his great obligations to Lord Wellesley for the success

of such interference, but has expressed, in written documents, his high opinion of the splendid services of that nobleman!!! who recovered his property at Lucknow in consequence of that interference; who, since his arrival from India, made a *grateful* return for his property so saved, by procuring, by means too often practised, a seat in parliament, for the express purpose of producing Articles of Impeachment against his best benefactor!!!; who wearied and disgusted the last House of Commons by bringing forward against that distinguished nobleman unproved and unsupported charges; who has been rejected by every petty borough to which he has offered his services!; who is now the avowed confederate of sir Francis Burdett, and has declared himself ready to go to the scaffold with him!!! This *disinterested* champion of an Indian Nabob, who despises and proscribed him, presumes to flatter himself, that, without an atom of talent, he may be qualified to tread in the steps of Mr. Wilkes, and to throw the Metropolis into confusion by the mere dint of bare-faced calumnies, empty promises, and vulgar impudence!!!

Under these circumstances, I call on you, sir, to judge for yourself, and to act accordingly. The facts which I have stated, are incontrovertible. The comparative merits of the respective candidates might have been much more strongly drawn. I call on you, as an independent Elector of Westminster, as an Englishman, as a loyal subject of the best of Kings, to contribute your efforts, with

mine, to save us from indelible disgrace: I earnestly conjure you to consider, who are the *fittest* Candidates for your favour, without supposing that absolute perfection can be found in any; to protect the City of Westminster from a rabble Representation; and, if you share the impressions and feelings which have dictated this address, you will not content yourself with your own early attendance on the Hustings, but will individually strain every nerve to secure the rejection of a man, whose election would entail eternal infamy and self-reproach on those, who, by want of exertion, had incurred the dreadful responsibility of admitting into their service so insignificant and contemptible a Representative.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

Piccadilly, Nov. 6, 1806.

A TRADESMAN.

QUERIES;

Ques. What is he who obtains GOODS under *false Pretences*?

Ans. A SWINDLER.

Ques. Who never pays his DEBTS?

Ans. A SWINDLER.

Ques. Who lives upon the PROPERTY and MEANS of *Others*?

Ans. A SWINDLER.

Ques. Who gives DRAFTS, which are *never paid*?

Ans. A SWINDLER.

Ques. Should a SWINDLER be a *Member* of *Parliament* ?

Ans. NO!!!

PAULL THE TRUE PATRIOT;

OR,

A PILL FOR APOSTACY.

Tune—MISS BAILEY.

1.

Electors all of Westminster, who prize your noble City,
And scorn to see it bought or sold, come listen to my ditty;
I sing of Dicky Sheridan, who twenty years and more, sir,
For Justice and for Liberty most lustily did roar, sir:—

Now grown a wealthy Placeman, he forsook us one and all, sir;
Then punish his Apostacy, and give your Votes to Paull, sir.

2.

He rail'd and speechify'd, whene'er Oppression was enacted,
Condemning every *Tragedy* the Minister had *acted*;
But, *Manager* become himself, a pretty *Farce* he play'd us,
When first the Curtain was withdrawn, and shew'd what fools he'd
made us.

Then, Sons of Independence, let us scout him one and all, sir,
And poll a great Majority for Freedom and for Paull, sir.

3.

So, finding we've been finely guil'd and cheated by this elf, sir,
We all approve his *Revels* now much better than himself, sir;
For since that he and many more began the Cash to handle,
We know that, for their *Benefit*, they've play'd *The School for Scandal*.

Then, Sons of Independence, let us scout them one and all, sir,
And poll a great Majority for Freedom and for Paull, sir.

4.

Said Paull one day to Sheridan, " I've got a dismal story,
To tell the British Parliament, that stains our Nation's glory,—

Of

Of crimes, which, howe'er screen'd from view by power or by distance,

I am determin'd to unveil; pray, lend me your assistance."

Expecting he'd supported be by Patriots one and all, sir;

But Sheridan forsook the cause of Justice and of Paull, sir.

5.

Said Dick, "I meant to lend a hand, but now 'tis not expedient;

My Patron has forbidden me; so, sir, your most obedient."

Said Paull, "No Patron I can know, except the British Nation,

Who'll not compound delinquency in any rank or station."

Then, Sons of Independence, stand by him one and all, sir,

And poll a great Majority for Freedom and for Paull, sir,

6.

Said Dick, "You know my Master's will, and if you'll not obey,
sir,

In parliament my wit I'll try, to baffle all you say, sir."

Said Paull, "Then to my Master I will look up for protection,

And leave him to decide the case against the next election."

Then, Sons of Independence, now come forward one and all, sir,

And poll a great Majority for Freedom and for Paull, sir.

7.

Then may all base venality for ever be confounded;

And, though the cause of Freedom by Apostacy is wounded,

May she ne'er want BURDETT and PAULL so manfully to right her,

And all *sham* Patriots only make the *true* ones look the brighter!

Then, Sons of Independence, come forward one and all, sir,

And MIDDLESEX and WESTMINSTER shall rouse at Freedom's
call, sir.

*Paull and Sir Francis Burdett,
against*

Sheridan and Lord Wellesley.

We understand that Mr. ARIS, of the Cold Bath Fields, yesterday gave a grand Dinner to a Party of Friends, among whom were Mr. Sheri-

dan, Mr. Peter Moore, Mr. Perry, of the Morning Chronicle, and Mr. Mainwaring; at which the following Toasts were drunk with rapturous applause:

“ The Enemies of Mr. Paull, and Sir Francis Burdett :”

“ The Marquis of Wellesley, and the East-India Monopoly :”

“ Confusion to the Duke of Northumberland and his Friends in Westminster.”

Mr. SHERIDAN was observed to be in very low Spirits, and after taking ONLY Three Bottles of Port, found himself obliged to have recourse to Brandy. He absolutely refused to retire to bed, declaring that this cursed Ambition to represent Westminster would allow him no rest. He soon, however, fell into a restless kind of doze, exclaiming at intervals, “ Oh, my Treasury-ship! Oh, my Popularity! Oh, Percy! Percy! had I but served the People with half the zeal I served myself, they had not now forsaken me!” Then faintly muttering, “ COBBETT, thou reasonest well!” he awoke.—

November 6.

FIFTH DAY.

Friday, November 7.

The number of people that assembled this day before the Hustings was immense. The scaffolding at the opposite side was crowded, and the fineness of the day induced a number of well-dressed women to attend to see the humours of a popular Election. Shortly after four o'clock, the numbers were thus declared:—

Sir Samuel Hood, bart. 2723

James Paull, esq. 2517

Right hon. R. B. Sheridan 2054

The votes this day for Mr. Paull were chiefly plumpers, while those of the other Candidates were mostly for both. On closing the books,

Mr. BRITTEN congratulated the people on the success of their exertions this day, in favour of the gallant officer sir S. Hood, and Mr. Sheridan, and the complete triumph they would speedily obtain, by their perseverance, over Mr. Paull. The memory of those splendid talents, by which their great City had been represented for above 25 years, in the person of that lamented patriot, the late Mr. Fox, demanded at their hands a successor worthy of his great character. That successor was now presented for their choice, in the person of Mr. Sheridan, the bosom-friend and compatriot of their late glorious Representative. For six-and-twenty years they had witnessed his brilliant

liant abilities, his unshaken consistency, and indefatigable exertions in support of the constitutional rights and liberties of his fellow-subjects. Could it be possible, then, that the Electors of Westminster should reject him, and choose Mr. Paull,—a stranger, of whom they knew nothing? he would ask them, as Englishmen, Was the metropolis of the empire so destitute of talents, or integrity, that it became necessary for them to go to Scotland in search of a Representative? would the people of Scotland reject their own countrymen, and seek a Representative in Westminster? Mr. Paull had stated among his pretensions, that he gloried in the principles of sir F. Burdett, and was ready to accompany him to the scaffold. Another of his pretensions was, that he was an independent man; but this could not be the case, as he had avowed himself dependent on sir F. Burdett for his Election.

MR. PETER MOORE congratulated the independent Electors of Westminster upon the triumphant success of this day's poll in favour of the gallant admiral and his right hon. friend. He told them yesterday what would be the result of those active exertions on foot for his right hon. friend. He told them that Mr. Paull would speedily flag in his career. The result had verified his predictions. Yesterday his right hon. friend polled as many as Mr. Paull: to-day he had polled three for his one. But what would the Electors say when they should be told, that out of the 2517 votes which enabled Mr. Paull to boast so high a majority yesterday,

no less than 613 were detected to be bad ; given by men who paid neither house-rent nor poors-rates ; but who voted under the influence of the *porter-pot*, so powerful a stimulus in Mr. Paull's estimation ? To-morrow his right hon. friend, instead of three, would poll five to one with Mr. Paull, who, if he had any good sense remaining, would now resign a contest which it would be impossible for him to maintain with the slightest probability of success, and repair, with the shattered remnant of his forces, to support his friend sir Francis Burdett at the Middlesex Election. However, his consequence as a Candidate for Westminster had but another solitary day to live. To-morrow evening would close upon him like death ; and he would rise no more, except perhaps to join the horde of his partisans on Monday in the drunken march to Brentford. He conjured the Electors to redouble their exertions, and join their forces to-morrow for the final decision of the contest, to crown the election of his right hon. friend, and the gallant officer now allied with him, and who might then be at liberty to return to his squadron, and proceed to reap new laurels in whatever quarter of the globe his country might demand his services. He concluded by apologising once more for the absence of his right hon. friend, whose illness continued, from the stroke of a bludgeon, received on quitting the Hustings, from a ruffian, on Monday. Hoping that he would be able to return them his thanks in person, on the close of to-morrow's poll. he trusted that they
would

would now join in a hearty cheer of three times three, to the success of his right hon. friend, and the gallant admiral.

Sir S. HOOD observed, that the state of the poll this day proved that the most respectable part of the community in the City of Westminster had come forward to support him and Mr. Sheridan, and with them the best interests of the constitution. He congratulated the Electors on his standing at the head of the poll. His right hon. friend, too, had beat his opponent by near 400 voters. To-morrow would shew them more of it. He trusted that the Electors of Westminster would manifest their disapproval of the friend of sir F. Burdett, the libeller of the country and of its constitution. The Electors, in his opinion, ought to testify their gratitude to such a man as Mr. Sheridan, who, by his exertions, might be said to have saved the Navy of England from destruction; at the dreadful period of a mutiny among the seamen.

Mr. PAULL repeated his former professions of the principles upon which he had ventured to stand Candidate for their suffrages; and said, that the short-lived triumph of this day's majority to the gallant admiral, when he considered the mode by which it was obtained, did not at all damp his hopes. It was notorious that, in order to muster the forces which appeared this day in the gallant admiral's support, not only had the navy office, the admiralty office, the war office, and all the other offices of government in Somerset-place,
and

and throughout the City of Westminster, been rummaged, ransacked, and swept of every clerk who could furnish a vote—but even the offices and counting-houses of every army-agent, contractor, and tradesman, sanctioned or influenced by government, were subjected to conscription for the like purpose, to eke out this boasted majority of the gallant Admiral, and swell the numbers of his new ally. But they knew little of his disposition who supposed he was to be frightened into a resignation by the majority of a few hundreds thus obtained, in the present stage of the poll. He could not command his supporters into the field—he could not drag them to the Hustings like conscripts, manacled in the chains of the Treasury: his reliance was upon the free will of a free people; and he looked only for a spontaneous support. In his reliance upon that, he should continue the poll, if necessary, to the last hour of the 15th day, and give the independent Electors of Westminster an opportunity to prove to the world, that not all the influence of Ministers, with all the gold in the Treasury, could induce them to forfeit their independence, or yield to the mandates of a junto leagued for their subjugation.

*Mr. Sheridan's Dinner at the Shakespeare Tavern,
November 7.*

About 200 of the friends of Mr. Sheridan dined this day at the Shakespeare Tavern, Covent Garden. Lord William Russell was unanimously called to the chair. The following are the toasts which he

gave, and which were drunk with three times three, and the most fervent enthusiam: "The King;" "The Prince of Wales;" "Mr. Sheridan, and the Independent Electors of Westminster." Mr. Scott, in the unavoidable absence, from indisposition, of Mr. Sheridan, returned thanks in his name, for the honour done him.—The next toast from the chair was—"Sir S. Hood, and success to his Election." Then followed—"The immortal memory of Mr. Fox," in revered silence; and the favourite toast of—"The cause of Liberty all over the world."—Mr. Incledon was then called upon for a song, and sang the following, composed on the spur of the moment by Mr. T. Dibdin, which was most enthusiastically received and encored.

1.

Ye lads who wish well to the Spot of your Birth,
The most independent and happy on earth;
It rests with yourselves that in future you be,
As you ever yet *have* been, united and free.

2.

It depends on yourselves, that no hypocrite rob
This Land of its Rights by the threats of a mob;
You ne'er will give way to the bluster and noise
Of impostors, who *call* themselves Liberty Boys.

3.

The men who from harm your Country would save,
Are not bullies nor blackguards, but men truly brave;
The *one* who for years has made Freedom's cause smile,
The *other* who first broke the line at the Nile.

4.

The People's real champions, believe me, are those
Who, within and without doors, dare combat your foes;
Give your votes to the true Friends of Liberty Hall,
Who scorn to rob *Peter*, by paying of *Paull*.

What

5.

What more can I say, your good-will to inspire,
Towards those who both burn with true Freedom's best fire?
I don't mean the Man who your suffrages mocks,
But the Friends and Companions of *Nelson* and *Fox*.

6.

Then fill up your glasses, my lads, while I sing,
THE NAVY, HOOD, SHERIDAN, and our GOOD KING;
May Englishmen never with nonsense be cramm'd,
And *BONY's* supporters all *die and be damn'd!*

The health of lord W. Russell, and the independent Freeholders of the county of Surrey, was next proposed by Mr. Scott; upon which,

LORD W. M. RUSSELL returned thanks in the warmest and most energetic terms. In the City of Westminster, enlisting under the principles of Mr. Fox, he had studied and imbibed the first principles of his political creed. The profession of these principles recommended him, though a total stranger, to the choice and approbation of the Freeholders of Surrey. In that proud situation he had since stood, notwithstanding all the manœuvres of the enemies of Freedom, with George Rose at their head. The same manœuvres were now again practised; but, as before, they would prove vain and abortive. This predilection he never ascribed to any personal merit, but to his steady attachment to the principles of Mr. Fox. The same claim, he trusted, would now meet with the same reward. Westminster would look for a proper Representative, and would not allow itself to be dis-

graced. He next gave the health of Mr. Byng, and the independent and consistent Freeholders of Middlesex. It was with heartfelt sorrow that he could not couple with his name that of sir Francis Burdett. The notorious apostacy of sir Francis from every principle he had formerly avowed, sunk him to a level to which no man of honest and honourable feelings and principles could stoop to recognise him. The degradation into which he had fallen, would be signally manifested by the desertion he must experience at the ensuing Election.

The health of Mr. P. Moore, the chairman of the committee, was next proposed and drunk with unanimous plaudits.

Mr. PETER MOORE rose and said, that though nearly exhausted from the exertions of the day, he should be lost to all sense of feeling, if he did not personally acknowledge the very handsome manner in which his health had been drunk. Whenever the interests of Westminster were concerned, he was ever ready to give his most unqualified assistance; and were he to be judged by the past, they would find him ever alive to her particular interests. He felt much hurt at being obliged personally to attend to his own interests at Coventry, from whence he returned only last week; but since that time, he had not slept upon it; on the contrary, he deprived himself of necessary repose, and would not relax till his end was accomplished. The triumph of this day was decisive, and must be
put

put out of all possible doubt to-morrow. It was not from the flattering state of the poll he said this, but judging from the good sense and discretion, from the independent principles and the honour of the Electors of Westminster, which they had convinced the world were not to be put down by any hired rabble whatever. He said, he had once been the most strenuous advocate and supporter of sir F. Burdett; but when he found him an apostate to the cause of true Liberty, when he found one open declaration, that no government should exist but by his appointment, or the dictation of the mob, he believed it could not be supposed that he would longer support a man who had forfeited all claim to the support of every man of honour, of principle, and of common sense. He had the pleasure to inform the meeting, that it had been communicated to him within the last five minutes, that all the real, independent, and honourable Electors of Westminster had united in support of Mr. Sheridan, and that subscriptions had actually been entered into, to defray the expenses of his Election, wholly unknown to him, or even his nearest connections: these honourable personages had determined to support the common cause, at their own common expence, and this communication would be realized in all the public papers of to-morrow. Sir. S. Hood had made a most candid declaration upon the Hastings, this day, of the union between his, and the friends of Mr. Sheridan, from which he was satisfied, to-

morrow

morrow would produce a most decided victory, as all the sensible, respectable, and independent Electors, were united for these two Candidates; and the union of the friends of a Nelson and a Fox must ultimately triumph. If, therefore, sir F. Burdett, and his little satellite, had any sense left, they would withdraw from the contest. He concluded by observing, that, had he been supported by such characters as this little gentleman had hitherto been supported by, although ultimately assured of success, upon his soul he would have run away from this City for ever.

Mr. PERRY acquiesced in all the warm sentiments expressed by Mr. Moore, but wished not to rest upon the same, perhaps too confident hope, that the struggle might be decided to-morrow. He recommended an increased activity in the canvass, instead of a relaxation which such a confidence might inspire, as the continuance of a systematic canvass was the only means of securing ultimate success. He concluded with detailing the plan of canvass, which, from long experience, he knew would prove successful.—The Chairman highly approved of the plan, and recommended it to be put in immediate execution; for which purpose the meeting broke up without delay.

Mr. Paull's Fourth Address to the Independent Electors of the City and Liberties of Westminster.

Hudson's Hotel, Nov. 7, 1806.

GENTLEMEN;

If any thing in the world were calculated to excite sentiments of the strongest indignation in the breast of Man, it certainly would be the scene displayed at Covent-Garden yesterday. To see *one hundred and fifteen* hired armed banditti and assassins marching in battle-array, from the Committee-room of one of the Candidates, headed by a Nobleman,* an officer in his Majesty's service, for the avowed purpose of committing acts of atrocious enormity, was an exhibition certainly unparalleled in this country, and I trust will remain so. But, Gentlemen, you were not intimidated by it,—I am not to be intimidated. You resented it, and I hope always will, as free men should do. We will still prove to the ruffians, *who hire*, and the ruffians *who are hired*, that you are not to be over-awed, and that you will manfully come forward in support of me and yourselves.—Miserable indeed must be that cause which is so reduced as to require these aids; it shews, Gentlemen, what little reliance they have on themselves, and on their cause; and let me entreat

* Lord Viscount Petersham, son of the Earl of Harrington, associated with some *Scene-Shifters*, from Drury Lane, is the person here alluded to.

you to give a speedy death-blow to their hopes, by your numbers on the Poll this day. Gentlemen, I have perfect confidence in your support; I know I have your hearts, your affections, and that we shall rise triumphantly out of this contest, which will place me in the enviable situation of *Representative of Westminster*, and secure to you your lost privileges and independence.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your obliged Friend and Servant,

JAMES PAUL.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

No Pantomimical or Farcical Shews to *trick*
us out of our

LIBERTIES.

NO MOUNTEBANK MEMBER.

HONEST MEN pay their Debts; ROGUES
do not.

THE COALITION.

To the worthy and independent Electors of the
City of Westminster.

GENTLEMEN;

Your rights are now endangered by the junction of two Court Candidates, who did on the first day of the Election assure you each was on his own

bottom. Was it not to undue court influence that for years past you struggled for independence and freedom; and will you now have let loose upon you, two placemen, whose merits for integrity you can place no reliance on? Exert your liberty and rights, now you have time to secure them, by choosing an independent member, who courts not flattery, and minds not the unjust influence and low calumny which are brought against him. If you will be true to yourselves, and prove the independent spirit you have always shewn, when your rights, your privileges, and all that is dear to you are intended to be trampled upon, for the most venal purposes—contrast Mr. Paull and Mr. Sheridan, and see the balance of disinterestedness between them! Mr. Sheridan, a placeman, rolling in luxury, at the expence of others; Mr. Paull, the advocate of your liberties, rights, and independence, the friend of the oppressed.—The cause which you uniformly, under the tuition of that much lamented patriot Mr. Fox, invariably pursued, do now, and shew the world Mr. Sheridan is not of the principles of Mr. Fox, who would, I am sure, had he been living, never have insulted you by so gross a coalition as the present!!! Rouse then, my brother Electors, and shew that you are worthy to be, what you ever have been,

Independent.

 QUERY;

Paull, Hood, or Sheridan?

A sincere friend of rational Freedom, and consequently an enemy to those wild systems of pretended democracy, which lead first to anarchy and next to despotism, begs leave respectfully to submit the following Queries to the Independent Electors of Westminster :

What are the claims of Mr. Paull to the high honour of representing the first City of England? Is he known to you by a series of splendid actions performed in the service of his Country, or by a long display of extraordinary ability, zeal, and knowledge as a Member of Parliament?

Is Mr. Paull in birth, fortune, character, or talents, such a man, as it becomes you to elect as your Representative?—He is a man of the most obscure birth, without education, a petty speculator in eastern traffic, and a contemptible speaker, whose folly and ignorance were the subjects of ridicule in the last house of commons;—and is such a person fit to be placed in the next, as the successor of that distinguished orator, enlightened statesman, and “best of patriots,” the ever-to-be-lamented Charles James Fox?

Is the dishonoured violator of private confidence, and the scandalous libeller of the heir apparent, worthy of being entrusted with the most sacred of all charges?

Will you give the title of Member for Westminster,

minster, to the man who has had the impudence to declare, "*that three thousand of you may be bought with as many pots of porter?*"

If such are Mr. Paull's personal *merits*, let us next examine his claims as the friend and admirer of sir F. Burdett; and for that purpose let us appeal to the honourable baronet's declaration to the Freeholders of Middlesex, and to his first speech on the Hustings in Covent-Garden.

Electors of Westminster, can you approve either of that declaration or of that speech? Can you admire the man who, by the ironical use of the words, "best of kings," has attempted to insult, in his old age, the person of your beloved Sovereign?—Can you give the sanction of your applause to the ungrateful calumniator of your late illustrious Representative, and who, while his honoured remains still lay unburied, dared to traduce his memory?

Do you wish to see Buonaparté and a French army welcomed to your City, and foreign military despotism established, instead of that admirable system of government under which you now enjoy all the blessings of Liberty and Independence, while the rest of Europe are sunk into abject and disgraceful thralldom?

Can you entertain any doubt of the sentiments of sir F. Burdett, who proudly declared on the first day of that Election, that "One hundred corrupt Members in the House of Commons were more dangerous than 500,000 armed men, *led by the Emperor of the French?*"—Does the friend and

copyist of the man who has used such language, deserve the suffrages of free-born Englishmen?

Electors of Westminster, will you, for such a man, reject sir S. Hood, the chosen friend, and companion in danger, of the immortal Nelson; who is abused for having followed the career of glory, and whose mutilated person, still bleeding in the cause of our Country, is pointed out as an object of scorn?

Electors of Westminster; for such a man, will you reject Richard Brinsley Sheridan; the luminary of English literature; the old and long-trying friend of Mr. Fox; the eloquent defender, through a long parliamentary life, of the Rights and Liberties of the people; the steady supporter of that system of volunteer force, which is at once your best bulwark against foreign invasion and domestic tyranny; and the consistent and patriotic supporter of every measure tending to increase the power, the dignity, and the glory of the British name?

Queries submitted to the profound penetration of Mr. Sheridan's Committee, and the truly Independent Electors of Westminster.

Who denounced a public Minister, as the greatest enemy to his country; and pledged himself to impeach him?

Who has associated with the same Minister afterwards, and joined him in a worse system of corruption than he had before deprecated?

Who

Who is it that, when in opposition, was perpetually declaiming against *jobs, places, and India delinquency* ; but, when *in place*, becomes the colleague of rogues, and the screener of guilt ?

Who is it that *brow-beats* the pursuers of guilt, and throws obstacles in the way of all proper and just enquiry ?

Who is it that disgusts the people by the *profligacy* and *apostacy* of his actions, and then reproaches them with being a *hired mob* ?

Who is it that has spent his whole life in a system of *delusion, fraud, and hypocrisy*—paying no debts that he ever contracted, unless when he bartered his principles for place, and discharged them with the plunder of his Country ?

Who is it that has become the supporter of the same men and the same destructive system, which has *mortgaged the British people from head to foot*, --leaving scarcely any thing which can be *taxed* that is not already *taxed*—after opening our veins and draining them so long, that they have left us nothing but our *hearts' blood* ?

If such a *man* can be found, *does he not deserve to swing upon that gallows* that he screens by his duplicity others from, rather than be returned to Parliament by the same people he has so fleeced and betrayed ?

AN ENQUIRER.

MEASURE

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

Tune—MADAME FIGG'S GALA.

1.

A Tailor there liv'd in the North,
 In business, as sharp as a *needle* ;
 He liv'd upon *cabbage* and *broth*,
 Grew fat, and was dubb'd parish-beadle :
 Mrs. Stitchlouse had ta'en such a *measure*,
 That an heir to his trade was soon born, sir ;
 Who in mending old clothes found no pleasure,
 And treated the shop-board with scorn, sir.
Rum ti iddity, &c.

2.

His son was a rickety brat,
 And scarcely as long as his *yard*, sir ;
 His head was remarkably fat ;
 His scull was thick, heavy, and hard, sir ;
 Far away he was sent to be *mended* ;
 But every attempt prov'd in vain, sir :
 A *dung* he went out, 'tis contended ;
 And a *fool* he has come home again, sir.

3.

That Paull cannot *tailor*, 'tis true,
 But *breaches* he makes in the peace, sir ;
 The *measures* he takes are not new,
 But he *cabbages* votes from the *geese*, sir :
 Let us *cut* short the *thread* of his story,
 And HOOD be the man of our choice, sirs ;
 With his *sword* he defends England's glory,
 Which SHERIDAN does with his *voice*, sir.

4.

Let Paull then return to his trade,
 An object of hatred and pity ;
 The *ninth* of a *man* was not made
 To represent Westminster City :

Here

Here we neither want Burdetts nor Bonys ;
 And Paull is the sworn friend of either ;
 To the *scaffold* he'll stick by his cronies,—
 'Tis fitting they should *hang together*.
Rum ti iddity, &c.

MR. SHERIDAN'S SUBSCRIPTION.

Committee at the Shakespeare.

Resolved, That in the present arduous contest, of the ultimate success of which this Committee has no doubt, it will be honourable to the Electors of Westminster, that no part of the expence attending it should fall on the right hon. R. B. Sheridan.—Resolved, That a Public Subscription for the maintenance of a public cause, be immediately set on foot, and that such subscriptions be paid into the Banking Houses of Messrs. Davison and Co., Pall-Mall; and Messrs. Biddulph, Cox, and Ridge, Charing-Cross; in the names of lord William Russell, sir R. Barclay, bart., and John Elliot, Esq., Treasurers; subject to the application of the Committees, through the direction of Mr. Alderman Combe.

PETER MOORE, Chairman.

Mr. Sheridan's Third Address to the Electors of Westminster.

GENTLEMEN ;

I trust you are now convinced that it proceeded from no light presumption in me, that in my advertisement of the 5th inst., acknowledging my
 2 gratitude

gratitude for your past and almost unsolicited support, I ventured to declare that I was not in the least dismayed by the then existing appearance of the Poll. The result of the two last days more than justifies the confidence I then expressed. That confidence was founded on my knowledge of the good sense, the honour, the loyalty, and the patriotism of the Electors of Westminster. Of the success of the pretensions of any gentlemen who appeared to assume that they did not possess these qualities, I really never entertained any serious apprehension. Such a Candidate could only obtain the appearance of a momentary triumph by other remissness. I am willing to take my full share of the blame on the present occasion, confident that a short perseverance will give complete success to our exertions, in a cause which deserves and demands the exertions of every man who desires the preservation of the British Constitution.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect and gratitude,

Somerset-Place,
Nov. 9, 1806.

Your faithful servant,
R. B. SHERIDAN.

Mr. Paull's Fifth Address to the Free and Independent Electors of Westminster.

GENTLEMEN;

Informed as you before were, of the Coalition of our enemies, you will not be surprised that they are using all possible exertions to make your disgrace the price of the scandalous compromise. Af-

ter

ter lord Percy had openly shrunk with horror from the touch of the Treasurer of the Navy, it might have been hoped, that an Officer of the British Fleet, covered over with stars and ribbons, would not have submitted to be forced into his embraces. The effects of this Coalition, Gentlemen, have been such as were to be expected. Against you have been marshalled all the placemen, clerks, pensioners, justices, tax-gatherers, beadles, and every other creature, composing that innumerable swarm of locusts, which are supported by the labour and the care of the industrious people. Seeing, however, after six days of most strenuous exertions on their part, that you were not to be overcome by threats of any sort, an attempt has been made to seduce you by misrepresenting the principles of the man who, I am confident, you will convince our enemies is the object of your choice; and, though I have upon no occasion omitted, either in private meetings, or at the Hastings, to declare in terms the most explicit, that my attachment to the King and the Constitution, yielded to that of no man living, our enemies have had the meanness to resort to the exploded cry of "Jacobinism," in order to inveigle you from following the dictates of your reason. I shall conclude, Gentlemen, with an earnest exhortation to you to lose no time in pressing forward to the Poll, as the most effectual way of avenging this insult to your understandings; and I shall subjoin as an answer to all our calumniators, the Resolutions, which, at the outset of the contest, we unanimously passed, and which

the candour of our enemies, has prevented them from noticing. Believe me to be, Gentlemen,

Charles-Street,
Nov. 9, 1806.

Your obliged friend and servant,

JAMES PAULL.

“ At a numerous and most respectable Meeting of
“ the Electors of Westminster, held at the Crown
“ and Anchor Tavern, on Thursday, Oct. 30,
“ 1806, the following Resolutions, moved from
“ the Chair, and seconded by Mr. Gibbons, were
“ unanimously agreed to :

RESOLVED, I. “ That, to be represented in the
“ Legislature by men sent thither by our own free
“ choice, is our undoubted right as Englishmen;
“ is the only security for the possession of our
“ property, or the enjoyment of our personal
“ Freedom ; and is, indeed, the only thing which
“ distinguishes us from the subjects of a despot.

II. “ That, duly impressed with the value of
“ this our Constitutional Privilege, and percei-
“ ving, with deep affliction, that, through the
“ influence of corruption and venality, this in-
“ estimable privilege has, in numerous instances,
“ been undermined and annihilated, it is, at this
“ critical period, the duty of every body of men
“ having a right to vote, and particularly of the
“ Electors of this great and populous City, so to
“ exercise their Franchise as to exhibit to the rest
“ of the kingdom, an example of good sense,
“ of public spirit, of purity of principle, and of
“ resolution to maintain or recover those rights,
“ which, when constitutionally enjoyed, have al-
“ ways

“ ways proved to be the greatest blessing to the
“ people, and the surest foundation of the throne.

III. “ That we have observed, with unfeigned
“ sorrow, that out of the 658 Members of the late
“ House of Commons, a comparatively very small
“ portion ever attended their duty ; that nearly
“ one half of the whole were placemen, depend-
“ ent officers, and pensioners ; that, it was but
“ too often evident, that the motive of action
“ was private interest rather than public good ;
“ and that, amongst those who were loudest in
“ their professions of devotion to the King, the
“ chief object was to render him, as well as his
“ people, the slaves of a faction.

IV. “ That in the Parliamentary conduct of Mr.
“ Paull, we have observed a constant attention
“ to his duty, a strict adherence to every promise
“ made to the Public, a virtuous abhorrence of
“ oppressors and peculators, an inflexible perse-
“ verance in the prosecution of delinquency, a
“ rare instance of resistance to those temptations,
“ by which so many other men have been se-
“ duced to betray their trust ; and that, upon
“ these grounds, it is incumbent upon us, collec-
“ tively, and individually, to use all the legal
“ means within our power to secure his Election,
“ and therein to do all that rests with us to pre-
“ serve our Country from a fate similar to that of
“ so many European States which have fallen an
“ easy conquest to the enemy, only because the
“ people had neither property nor liberty to de-
“ fend.

(Signed)

F. BURDETT.”

SIXTH DAY.

Saturday, November 8.

At the close of the Poll, the numbers for the respective Candidates stood thus:—

For Sir Samuel Hood 3102

Mr. Paull 2658

Mr. Sheridan 2424

Mr. BRITTEN, in the absence of Mr. P. Moore, addressed the Electors in behalf of Mr. Sheridan. —Considerable opposition was made to him at first. He requested, however, to be heard.—It had been asserted, that no Court Candidate had a title to the votes of the Electors of Westminster. But he was no Court Candidate, nor was he in any degree influenced by the Court. They might, therefore, at least allow him a patient hearing.—He then spoke in the highest terms of the talents and public conduct of Mr. Sheridan, who, during the whole of his parliamentary career, had been the steady and determined supporter of the Constitution, and the Rights of the people. It had been said, that none were free men who did not vote for Mr. Paull. Such an assertion could only proceed upon the absurd supposition that men in office were to be opposed, whether right or wrong. But Mr. Sheridan had proved, in the course of an active life, that office was no consideration with him, when put in competition with his principles. Mr. Paull had little share on the score of experience,

ence, and still less in point of talents. It was impossible that any rational and reflecting free man could give the preference to Mr. Paull over Mr. Sheridan. This would be to clap an extinguisher on the sun, and supply its place with a little farthing rush-light ! The gallant admiral, sir S. Hood, had fought the battles of his Country. Those only who had witnessed the situation of a country which was the seat of war, could form a competent idea of the horrors attending such a situation. That this Country had not been the seat of war, was owing to our Navy. Our Sailors were the guardians of our Peace, our Laws, and our Liberties. This consideration pointed out the claims of the gallant Admiral, and certainly no honour or benefit, that could be conferred, could exceed the deserts of a brave, an active, and skilful Naval Officer.

Sir S. HOOD congratulated the Electors on the glorious and triumphant stand they had made this day. They had nobly vindicated their Constitution ; and he could assure them, that in the defence of that would consist their best security, and not in faction. To-day the result of the poll justified the hopes he had expressed yesterday, and placed him at the head of it, by a majority of 444 ; and on Monday he hoped the victory would be complete.

Mr. PAULL said, the result of this day's poll gave to the Court Candidates a temporary triumph, which by no means dispirited his hopes, nor induced him to doubt, that the result of Monday's poll

poll would shew them a material reverse of fortune. The independent Electors of Westminster would now see that his opponents were driven to the most desperate expedients. No artifice was omitted, which by slander and falsehood might depreciate his character, or which by force or terror could intimidate his friends, or bully him into a dereliction of the cause in which he was embarked. Amongst others, Mr. Peter Moore had, for two successive days, the hardihood to stand forward on the Hustings, and impute to *him* a declaration — “that any *porter* who should stand forward as a Candidate for the Representation of Westminster, might be sure of 5000 votes, if he would but distribute *porter* enough.” The audacity of the assertion was only to be equalled by its falsehood. He had never presumed to insult the Electors of Westminster by such a declaration. It was, he felt, a false and infamous calumny, not invented or declared by him, but quoted from the speech of a Mr. Denis O’Brien, who was its author. In like manner had his own principles been basely belied, from the same source; but the falsehood was too notorious, and its motives too obvious to call for refutation. He was aware of the formidable combination of a few aristocratical families in Westminster, who had joined their purses with their influence to those of the Ministry and the Treasury, not merely to defeat his election, but to shew the Electors of Westminster, that they must not presume to choose a Representative, contrary to the dictates of this Junta. But, undismayed by their

2

artifices,

artifices, unappalled by the whole force of corruption and influence, there he stood to oppose them. He expected 800 votes on Monday. He would stand the poll to the last moment. It was for the Electors *now*, if *ever*, to vindicate their rights; and he should never desert them, so long as they had the virtue, and the spirit, to be true to themselves.

JAMES PAULL, *and the Broad R.*

JAMES PAULL having sworn with his *usual* *vehemence*, and *veracity*, “ That he refused a *Ribbon* “ as *broad* and as *long* as the *Order of Knighthood* “ worn by Sir SAMUEL HOOD, K. B.,” the Electors of Westminster have requested that gallant and generous *Naval Commander* to confer *the Honour* of the naval BROAD R on JAMES PAULL. Sir Samuel Hood accordingly intends to add *the Naval Broad R.* to James Paull’s Name on this Monday.

JAMES PAULL, R.

MR. SHERIDAN.

The CREDITORS of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Treasurer of the Navy, Placeman, Pensioner, Apostate, &c. &c. &c., whose DEBTS have been long rendered *desperate*, are earnestly requested to attend at his Committee-Room, Shakspeare Tavern, Covent-Garden, on Monday, the 10th of November, 1805, to consult on the most *efficacious* Measures for ensuring the
Return

Return to Parliament of that *punctual, correct, honest, and most honourable* Gentleman.

N. B. Any SUBSCRIPTIONS, *however trifling*, and whether in *Money or Goods*, will be most *thankfully received*, and most *UNDULY accounted for*.

THE OLD AND TRIED PATRIOT.

Electors of Westminster ;

How many INDUSTRIOUS TRADESMEN have been THROWN INTO GAOL, for even the *Costs of Law* which have ensued on their *legal efforts to recover their Debts of the "OLD AND TRIED PATRIOT!"* And by what base expedients did he *bid Defiance to the Law?*—Was it not by a Sacrifice of that Property he was bound to protect—the Property of THE PROPRIETORS OF THE THEATRE?

Were not the Sheriff's Officers, their Followers, the Sheriff Brokers, and their Relatives, put on the Liberty List of the Theatre? So that upon any new Play being announced, the House was literally filled with these his Brother Patriots, and the natural Consequences followed—*The iniquitous Return to Writs*—"NO EFFECTS!!!"

Did not the "*Tried Patriot*" at this time garnish his Table with *Peas at two Guineas and a Half the Quart*—NOT YET PAID FOR; and *drive FOUR Horses to his Carriage?*

Will you give this *self-called "Tried Patriot"* once again a Protection against PERSONAL ARREST, by Returning him a Member of Parliament

liament for this Enlightened and Independent City?
Consider, Electors, and determine for yourselves!!

HIS NUMEROUS AND MISERABLE CREDITORS will not ridicule, with the "Old Patriot," the Merchant presuming to offer himself a Candidate. Is he not one of yourselves? And during the last two Sessions of Parliament, did he not zealously attend to your best Interests in defiance of the frowns and influence of Power, while the "*Tried Patriot*" was entrenching himself in SOMERSET HOUSE, and his boasted eloquence and professions silenced with 7000*l. per Annum*—his share of the Additional 5 *per Cent.* Income Tax laid on you, to enable LORD GRENVILLE to take on and PENSION THE BAND OF PATRIOTS.

He knows the Justice of his Cause, and protects it by

SEVENTY HIRED BLUDGEON-MEN.—

ELECTORS—*He dare not leave his Cause to your honest zeal*—and is HE, then, the Man, likely to become your

HONEST ADVOCATE IN THE SENATE!!!

THE ELECTION.

A NEW SONG.

Tune—*Here we go up up up.*

I.

Now haste to the Garden away,
 And banish dull care and reflection;
 There you'll hear all the news of the day,
 And see how goes on the Election.
 For there they go up up up,
 And then they go down a downie;
 But SHERRY and HOOD are the men,
 I'll lay you a thousand poundie.

2.

Pray who is that black little fellow,
 Who so fidgets and loudly doth bawl?
 Why, he is the Tailor from Perth,
 And I think they call him Mr. Paull.
 Now he goes up up up,
 And now he goes down a downie:
 Shall he be the man of your choice?
 No—not for a thousand poundie.

3.

Oh, he's a nice little manikin;
 Oh, he's a pretty young fellow:
 When the County Election begins,
 We'll make him a punchinello.
 Here he goes up up up,
 There he goes down a downie:
 If he the Election should win,
 I'll forfeit a thousand poundie.

4.

Then 'fore the Hustings at Brentford,
 He'll shew the mob many a prank;
 A stage he'll erect on his board,
 Play tricks, and roar out for Sir Frank.
 Now here they go up up up,
 There Paull goes down a downie:
 Shall he be your member, my boys?
 No—not for a thousand poundie.

5.

Then SHERRY and HOOD are your men;
 For them now your voices I crave:
 The one in the Senate's your friend,
 And the other on shipboard is brave.
 For now they go up up up;
 How Paull goes down a downy,
 And he the Election will lose,
 With many a thousand poundie.

SEVENTH DAY.

Monday, November 10, 1806.

About two o' clock this day, Mr. Sheridan appeared in front of the Hustings, accompanied by lord W. Russell, Mr. Whitbread, lord Petersham, lord Barrymore, the hon. Lincoln Stanhope, Mr. Cavendish Bradshaw, the hon. Berkeley Craven, Sir John Shelley, Mr. Britten, and Mr. T. Sheridan. At the close of the poll, the numbers were,

Sir Samuel Hood 3715

Mr. Paull 3277

Mr. Sheridan 2993

Mr. SHERIDAN advanced to address the people. Some considerable time was exhausted in his endeavours, before the contending clamour of opposite parties had so far subsided as to allow him the chance of a hearing. He began with a respectful claim of peace, order, and attention ! This produced new bursts of clamour, especially from the *broad-faced* orator. Mr. Sheridan facetiously answered him : “ My good friend, I am anxious to hear you, but am deprived of that pleasure by the bad management of your voice. I perceive you're getting hoarse, and I must send you some syrup.” Mr. Sheridan proceeded : “ Gentlemen, you are d—d fools not to hear me ; I have always desired to hear your orators, and therefore I don't think it handsome that you refuse to hear me in my turn.

I presume it is because we think and act upon different principles: *you* know that your orators injure their own cause, and you are apprehensive that *I* shall vindicate and serve mine. I told you, gentlemen, upon the first day of this Election, that though it was not impossible I might be beaten in the contest, yet I was not to be frightened. I now repeat that declaration: and though I narrowly escaped murder from an assassin on my departure from these Hustings on the first day, and am now for the first time able to return, after the consequences of that attack, I am not to be deterred from this contest by any thing that comes against me from the highest of the demagogues to the lowest of the ruffians amongst you. I have no desire for tumult or disturbance; no wish to offer insult to any man opposed to me in this Election. I have said nothing coarse or ungentlemanly against the person or character of Mr. Paull; and if mine were the kind of cause that could require such expedients, I should be ashamed of, and would abandon it. But the cause in which I am engaged is the cause of my Country, equally dear to you and to me, and it requires not the aid of tumult or vituperation. So far as you may choose to exercise your privilege towards me, as a fair English mob, I freely forgive you, and have no desire on this occasion to curb your licence. It is not from the industrious orders of the people of England that I expect serious enmity or abuse; for I am convinced, that no honest Englishman, who knows my political character, can be my enemy;

enemy ; conscious that I have ever been the friend of the liberties and the happiness of the British people. It is from *hired ruffians* only, that I expect insult and abuse, and to such only I impute that species of hostility that has been shewn towards me in the course of this Election, and particularly on the last day I had the honour to address you. I should be glad to know what is become of the *broad-faced* gentleman, who, upon that occasion, was so zealous against me. I should be glad to speak to my broad-faced friend again : I hope, he will now condescend to hear me, and that, instead of being my enemy, he is converted to my support." [No, no, no ! from the *broad-faced* orator]. " I am sorry for it. I thought the gentleman might have come to his senses : but I will allow him a day or two more to cool himself ; and I doubt not, he will then come forward, and make me an apology for his error. Gentlemen, notwithstanding any short-lived triumph my antagonist may boast in the trivial majority he now enjoys, I rest satisfied in the fullest confidence of success ; nor am I to be deterred from the pursuit of it, until finally victorious. When I was coming to the Hustings this day, I was told by my friends it was at the risk of my life, from the turbulence of the mob. But, instead of staying back, I came here on that very account. I was told that, for my safety, I must come by this door or that : but I preferred to come round Covent-Garden, and through the midst of you. I am here a Candidate for the cause of you all. My opponent tells you
what

what he *will* do: I tell you what I *have* done. I put *facts* in opposition to his *pledges*. I urge the whole progress of my political life against his promises, and I challenge the whole body of the lower classes of the people of England, to point out a single instance in which I have not acted as their friend. I shall conclude by saying, that I thank my friends and scorn my enemies."

Captain HOOD, in the absence of sir Samuel, begged leave to return thanks to the Independent Electors in his name for their further exertions in his favour on that day.

MR. PAULL came forward, and said,—“Gentlemen, I now, for the seventh time, appear before you, and I do so with more pleasure than before. It was last Saturday night, that the member for Coventry, that hunter for places (Mr. P. Moore) appeared here, and pledged his honour, that I would not be heard any more upon these Hustings. You see me here, however, for the seventh time, notwithstanding the avowed coalition of two Court Candidates, notwithstanding all the interest they could muster, from Carleton house even down to the cook at Somerset house. The number polled this day in my favour, exceeds that of any of the others, notwithstanding that their votes have been purchased with gold from the Treasury, with threats and intimidation. Gentlemen, the Member for Coventry, that place-hunter, when talking of the Treasurer of the Navy, said, that I would not poll one to his five, this day; but that I would be off to Brentford, to support my hon. friend sir F. Burdett.

dett. I do not wish to hurt the feelings of the Treasurer of the Navy, or to sink him in his friends' estimation; but good God! can it be believed, that Mr. Sheridan, who once had the popular voice, and was thought to be the tried and undoubted friend of the people, can only now find refuge amongst the heads of the administration! It would have been more honourable for Mr. Sheridan to have thrown himself at the feet of the people of England, and craved their pardon for having become an apostate. If he had appeared here with shame, sorrow, and contrition, we might have thought he had yet some virtue remaining; but, instead of this, we find him base and abandoned enough, to shew that he loves his place and his emoluments better than he loves you. It has been asked, Gentlemen, what were my pretensions? I shall state them very shortly in opposition to Mr. Sheridan. Think of his professions before he was Treasurer of the Navy, and mark what he has done, when he has obtained that situation; and then you will be the most proper judge betwixt him and me. For two sessions of parliament I never was absent, from the time the Speaker took the chair, to the time he left it; I voted against the increase of your burthens; I opposed the additional Pension bills; I joined cordially in rectifying the abuses in the barrack department; I voted against the clause of the bill, by which foreign property was to be protected with less burthens than your own; and I have endeavoured, with unceasing and unabated perseverance, to
bring

bring one of the greatest state delinquents that ever existed in any country, to punishment. This, Gentlemen, has been my conduct; now, what has been that of the Treasurer of the Navy from the time he came into office? I pledge my honour that he did not attend six times in the House of Commons from the time he got into office. The first act of the Treasurer of the Navy was to vote decidedly for an increase of your burthens, and then to controul the liberty of the press. When I brought forward an order to show how four millions of money had been expended, he came down and rescinded that vote, which would have shewn you to your satisfaction how your money had been appropriated. Except for the purpose of gaining popularity, the Treasurer of the Navy has never appeared in the House of Commons. I am accused of being a jacobin, by those very men who professed themselves to be the friends of Arthur O'Connor. I defy any honourable and conscientious man, to torture any sentiment ever uttered by me into a wish for the ill of my Country. I respect the King, Lords, and Commons, in their proper places. I only wish to bring back those principles of the Constitution into practice, which have too long existed only in theory."—Mr. Paull, having concluded, was, as formerly, drawn home in triumph by the multitude.

*Sir Samuel Hood's Dinner at Willis's Rooms,
November 11.*

A meeting of sir Samuel Hood's friends was this day held at Willis's Rooms, King-street, at five o'clock. About half past six o'clock, the company, consisting of upwards of 200, sat down to dinner; Colonel Elliot in the chair. After the usual toasts of "The King," "Queen, and Royal Family" were given, the Chairman proposed "The Health of Sir Samuel Hood," which was drunk with three times three. Sir Samuel rose, and thanked the meeting for the kindness and attention they had this day shewn him. He then gave, "Mr. Sheridan, and Success to him in his Election;" which was drunk with three times three.

Mr. SHERIDAN declared, that much as he might, on various occasions, have felt himself flattered by public declarations of approbation, none had, on any occasion, been so flattering to him as that which he had experienced to-day. More might naturally be expected to be said by him than by the brave Commodore whose health had been previously drunk, though they must easily have perceived that his heart was full with gratitude for that support they had so manfully given him, and he had so well deserved. Agreeing, as he hoped they did, in one common object—that the Electors of this City had something left to deserve support, he and the brave Commodore seemed to differ only in one thing, namely, how this object

was to be accomplished. His way was by speaking of it—the gallant Commodore's was more noble, namely, by fighting. It was by no means with surprise that he had read a charge made by Mr. Paull against them—that they mortally detested each other. On what ground such a charge was insinuated, he knew not. But let his services of 26 years, and the gallant Commodore's more noble services of a longer standing, by which he (Mr. Sheridan) had got a place, and by which the hon. baronet had lost his arm, answer the accusation. Mr. Paull had accused them of detesting each other. But, if Mr. Paull could have fixed on a wrong person on whom to impose such a charge, Mr. Sheridan declared, he had effectually done so in selecting him. If there was a person in the kingdom who could hold in detestation the Defender of their Country, he, unquestionably, was not the person—but one determined rather to venerate their persons and services. He had not till the present Election known sir S. Hood. He had heard of him, however, and though he knew that there were names equal, he knew that there was not one superior to it in the British Navy. If there was a man in this country, in Parliament, or out of it, inclined to shew his admiration of the character and merits of our naval commanders, he was that person. He had not been present on the Hustings, when the gallant Commodore complimented him on his conduct during the mutiny in the Navy. Nothing, however, could be more gratifying to him than to learn that

that his conduct on that occasion had been approved, not by sir S. Hood alone, but by almost every officer in the Navy. He treated with contempt the opinion of Mr. Paull on this subject. If there was a man who could detest the brave Defender of his Country, he must be sought amongst those with whom Mr. Paull himself associated—who said, there was nothing in the country worth defending—who must be supposed inclined to think so—and who, if they maintained such an opinion, without believing it, must naturally be supposed capable of detesting those Defenders of their Country whom it was their business to calumniate. — Such a character, unquestionably, could be sought no where but amongst those who were prepared to overturn the country. He hoped sincerely there were no such men; but he declared that the dread of them, or the certainty of their existence, should never intimidate him, but that he should be ready, at all times, and by every means in his power, to meet them face to face, and, he trusted, to combat and overpower them. The present contest was esteemed to be of considerable importance; but its importance did not consist in this—if he or the other person should be Member for Westminster; but if the principles which he professed, or those professed by his opponent, were to have the preference in the eyes of the Electors of this great City. This was a momentous and a most perilous crisis: a period at which one tyrant had over-run the whole continent of Europe, and one in which nothing was

left for this Country, but to employ our best energies to repress the evil, so far as lay in our power; and to thank God for the Navy we possessed, by which similar calamities might be averted from these favoured shores. Burthens, unquestionably, in the course of the contest we should have to bear, and taxes we must submit to: but we had examples before us, in the person of the gallant Commodore, of the necessity, nay of the beauty of submitting to deprivations for our Native Country. Let us curtail our superfluities; let us with unwounded hearts, as that gallant Officer would do, resolve to face our enemy, and to preserve the Throne and Independence of our Country, or to perish in the contest.

Mr. T. Sheridan was called on for a song; when he gave "Scots, wha ha'e wi Wallace bled," with great effect.—On the motion of Mr. Young, the healths of the two favourite Candidates, as they had been drunk separate, were again drunk together, during which time Mr. Sheridan and sir S. Hood manifested their cordiality in the sentiment, by enthusiastically shaking hands together in front of the Chairman. Sir S. Hood proposed the health of Col. ELLIOT, the Chairman, which was drunk with three times three.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed "the health of Mr. Whitbread, and the Independent Electors of Bedford, with thanks to Mr. Whitbread for his letter to sir F. Burdett." This toast being given with distinguished approbation,

Mr. WHITBREAD returned his best thanks to the
the

the meeting, for the honour they had done him, and particularly for their approbation of the letter which he had written to sir F. Burdett, entirely *ex tempore*, on the receipt of a letter from sir Francis, soliciting his suffrage. He felt no hesitation in saying, that at the time of the dissolution of Parliament, he had it in his contemplation that sir F. Burdett would be the Representative for Middlesex, and he had a satisfaction in thinking so, believing, as he still did, that sir F. meant well.—When, however, the hon. baronet had expressed himself in the manner every gentleman present knew he had in his address, and when he called on him (Mr. W.) on the grounds contained in that address alone, it was impossible for him (Mr. W.) not to withdraw from sir F. his support. To this letter sir F. wrote an answer, perfectly gentlemanlike and kind; but, on better consideration, he had told the Electors that he was not entitled to be addressed in such terms. He (Mr. W.) however, thought that sir F. had no right to complain that he, as an Elector, answered publicly his (sir F.'s) address to the Electors in general. He also confessed, that, at the period of the dissolution, he did not think Mr. Paull an unfit person again to become a Representative of the People in Parliament. On the contrary, he thought that, during his sitting in Parliament, he had shewn himself not unworthy of a renewal of that honour. When he saw him, however, standing forward as the follower of sir F. Burdett, as one ready to adopt whatever line of conduct he

might

might pursue, that entirely altered the question. He thought the Electors of Westminster had at present a more than usual important trust to discharge. He had come to town impressed with this idea. He had come to use his influence for his friend Mr. Sheridan and for the brave Commodore also ; one whom till this day he had never seen, though he had heard of him so much ; of whom England must have heard so much ; and of whom, he trusted, their children would have much to hear. In soliciting those Electors to whom he had applied, he had coupled the names together—equally illustrious though in different ways. The gallant Commodore's fame had been progressive, and had not yet, he was convinced, nearly reached its height. The fame of his right hon. friend had been constantly rising since he came into Parliament, nor could he be convinced, that it had yet reached its height, more than that of the gallant Commodore. There were other persons who sought the confidence and protection of the public, when they could not gain it, like the two Candidates to whom he had alluded, by well-earned fame, but by singularity of opinion ; such persons were to be avoided,—not because their hearts were bad, but because their heads were light, and they did not know where they were going. He solemnly believed sir F. Burdett was in this situation. But, if he could not be trusted, because he did not know to what extent he was to go, far less could Mr. Paull be trusted, who professed himself to be only his disciple. His illustrious

trious friend (Mr. Fox), were he alive, would have recommended to them to support the two Candidates now before them. As to the idea thrown out by sir F. Burdett, of a person in place being unfit to represent a populous City, he thought nothing could be more honourable, or more becoming in such Representative, than to throw himself on his Constituents, and allow them to say if he had done any thing to forfeit their esteem.

Mr. WHITBREAD then gave as a sentiment—“ May sir F. Burdett retain his present situation on the Poll for the county of Middlesex !” the state of the Poll being then declared.

Mr. SHERIDAN proposed—“ The Female Patriots of Westminster, of whatever degree.”—Both of which were drunk with three times three.

Mr. Whitbread proposed—“ The Constitution, the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Constitution of Great Britain—or King, Lords, and Commons ;” which was drunk with three times three.—“ Mr. P. Moore, and the Electors of Coventry,” being drunk ;

Mr. Peter MOORE returned thanks, professing the unfeigned zeal he had formerly felt for sir F. Burdett, and that he had now abandoned him only because he had abandoned himself. He reminded the Electors that Mr. Paull was only the follower of sir F. Burdett, and that the worthy baronet himself was no more than the disciple of Horne Tooke.

Mr.

Mr. SHERIDAN informed the meeting that he should to-morrow, or Thursday, publish an offer by Mr. Paull and Mr. Cobbett to him, if he would stand neuter, that he should have all Mr. Paull's second votes; this he had rejected with scorn: but the object evidently was to give them an opportunity of blackening both Candidates, and of taking his run against that one which might latterly be farthest behind.

Mr. T. SHERIDAN proposed "the health of a gallant Officer, Captain Halliday, of the Navy," in conjunction with whom he had carried on an earnest and a successful canvass for sir F. Burdett, during the last election. He had the authority of that gallant officer for declaring that he now discountenanced him.

It was agreed that each member present should exert himself to bring up a given number of votes to-morrow: and the meeting adjourned till Thursday, at the Crown and Anchor.

HOOD AND SHERIDAN.

No Paull.—No Burdett.

No Independent Men in the House of Commons.

No Impeachment for Murder and Plunder in India.

No Enquiry into Peculation and Embezzlement at Home.

No Enemies to Placemen and Pensioners.

No

No Advocates for the Old Constitution.

No Censure on Coalitions.

No exposing State Tricks.

No paying just Debts.

No complaining of Hired Bludgeon-Men.

No degrading Hired Bruisers.

No Reflections on Cockade Constables.

NO GRUMBLING at ANY THING.

HOOD, SHERIDAN, and CLUB LAW for
Ever !!!

To the Independent Electors of Westminster.

Who is asking to be one of your Representative? The Son of an obscure *Irish Player*, a profession formerly proscribed by our laws; and its followers by various statutes stigmatized as *incorrigible rogues and vagabonds*.—Possessed of a considerable portion of ribaldry, disgusting obscenity, and dissoluteness of manners, this *Harlequin Son* of a *Mountebank Father* was indulged by some few of the depraved Nobility of the age with admission into their society, as a kind of *hired Jester*, whose grossness of conversation was calculated to stimulate their already too luxuriant debauchery.—From these beginnings he moved through all the gradations of *meanness, tricking* and *impudence*, to the station he now fills; his career has been marked with every species of profligacy and extravagance; to support
5 which,

which, he has been compelled to resort to low cunning and vile impostures. I will not make any *honest man* blush by the recital of them—my paper shall not be thus stained: The ruin of hundreds of industrious Tradesmen and their innocent families are the evidences, and will rise up in vengeance against such oppressors!—If you look at his political life, you will find it exhibiting equally repulsive traits:—At one time the friend and supporter of principles subversive of the Constitution and of all order; the advocate of the French Revolution and its wildest theories; the defender of an O'Connor; the systematic opposer (whether right or wrong) of all the measures of the Government; yet, when in *place*, pursuing the same measures; inconsistent, tergiversating, unpatriotic, and the Apostate of Public Liberty: Ever regardless of the true interests of his Country, the acquirement of place his *only* object, the love of its advantages his *only* care.—And can such a MAN be a fit Representative for the *Independent Electors of Westminster*? No!! No!!!—Let it not be said, that the dictates of an imperious Minister shall determine your actions! *Debased, sunk* below the possibility of recovery, *mortified and stung* to the soul by the success of his opponents, this would-be and cannot-be popular Candidate, on his knees, most humbly sues his masters to raise him from the dirt. Yes! and *they will attempt* to raise him, but it will be only
to

to *sink him* the lower, to make him their *tool*, their *dependent*, their *slave*.—And, Gentlemen, will you be represented by a dependent and a slave of the Grenvilles? Forbid it Justice! Forbid it Virtue! Forbid it Freedom!!!

A CALM OBSERVER.

To be SOLD by AUCTION,

On Tuesday, the 11th of November, 1806,

At the Hustings, in Covent Garden,

AT FOUR O'CLOCK,

By Mr. JOHN GRAHAM, Sheriff's Broker,

THE UNREDEEMED PLEDGES

OF THE

Rt. Hon. R. Brinsley Sheridan,

Treasurer of the Navy, &c. &c.

Pawned previous to his coming into Power;

CONSISTING OF THE FOLLOWING VARIETIES,

Which are very particularly recommended to the Attention of Mr. PETER MOORE, and the other Place-Hunters and Shoe-Lickers in and about

ST. JAMES'S PALACE:—

Lot 1st. To reduce the Income Tax from 5 per Cent. to Nothing; because it was unjust, oppressive, inquisitorial, and contrary to our Liberties and Privileges:

2d. To enquire into the Affairs of the Carnatic ; because Tyranny and Oppression had been exercised there :

3d. Not to desert his Constituents at Stafford ; because they had for 26 years kept him out of Gaol :

4th. Not to take a Place or Pension ; because it destroyed a Man's Independence :

5th. To support the Enquiry into Lord Wellesley's Administration.

6th. To effect a Reformation of the Abuses of the late Administration ; to pay his Debts ; because Hundreds of Tradesmen, their Wives and Families, were reduced to ruin by their non-payment.

These Articles having remained a long while on hand, and not likely to be redeemed, will be sold, without reserve, to the best Bidders ; and Purchasers will be allowed every accommodation in payment.

JEM PAULL'S ADDRESS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS ;

OR,

An excellent New Song on the Westminster Election.

Tune—THE STORM.

1.

CEASE, Sir Samuel, gallant Sailor !

Be thy patriot voice unknown !

Tradesmen, hear a brother Tailor

Speak of virtues all his own.—

First

First I, on the *shopboard* seated,
 Preach'd to *Journeymen* a score;
 In the COMMONS then repeated
 All the *Snips* had heard before.

2.

In my youth I sail'd for India;
 Trade and wealth began to dawn:
Trowsers there I made for SCINDEAH,
Cotton Draw'rs for ALI KHAN!
 Fame I wish'd—content with riches—
 Soon that fell within my reach—
 As I mended once the *breeches*
 Of the Man I now IMPEACH.

3.

What though some malignant railer
 Ask, with rage and eager hate,
 How a *journey-working Tailor*
 Knew the *secrets* of the STATE?
 How that I, to stop their vapours,
 (Which I value not a LOUSE,)
 Pick'd the pockets of the papers
 I presented to the HOUSE?

4.

What though all my *humming, hawing,*
 Ne'er was understood by half;
 All my *chatt'ring, all my jawing,*
 Only made the COMMONS laugh.
 Since each Briton stout and hearty,
 Treats me with neglect and scorn;
 Soon I join'd with BONAPARTE,
 BURDETT, JONES, and Parson HORNE.

5.

Working on *St. Stephen's* benches—
 Ev'ry Minister shall be,
 Who upon the Mob intrenches,
 Speedily *sewn up* by me!

Then

Then shall BONEY, my befriender,—
 (Well to him my worth is known)—
High in state and regal splendour,
 Mount me *cross-legg'd* on the throne.

9.

Thou who hast a fellow-feeling ;—
 Thou who lov'st not to be free ;—
Thou who liv'st by lies, and stealing ;—
 If there be one, vote for me !
Choose ;—it will be better for thee ;
 Next, yourself may stand and try :
None so poor, or so unworthy,
 But are just as fit as I.

EIGHTH DAY.

Tuesday, November 11.

At the close of the Poll, this day, the numbers were, for

Sir Samuel Hood 4029

Mr. Paull 3488

Mr. Sheridan 3284

Upon the Poll being announced,

Mr. WHITBREAD stood forward, and addressed the meeting. He began by stating, that as an independent Elector of Westminster, he was warranted in claiming, from such among the crowd as were really independent, a fair hearing. In the name of Mr. Sheridan—in the name of his numerous and respectable friends—in the name of the Country and of rational Freedom, he begged to thank those to whose support his illustrious Friend was indebted for his present advantageous situation upon the poll. Among those who were most anxious to hear him, he perceived many of the friends of Mr. Paull, and he thanked them for the disposition they manifested. No one of the people of England more sincerely respected than he did the right of an Englishman to act as he pleased, and to speak as he thought, particularly upon an occasion like the present. In such a contest, however, too many were apt to think themselves absolved from the necessity of attending to the rules of common propriety. He had witnessed a good deal

deal of irregularity ; but he could not ascribe it to the Electors. No ; for as far as their opinion was to be collected from the result of the poll, it was decidedly in favour of Mr. Sheridan. This result, however, he was not disposed to attribute so much to the partiality generally entertained for Mr. Sheridan, as to the difference very naturally ascribed in the public mind by the contrast of the principles avowed by Mr. Paull and those of the other Candidates. The present had no doubt been a hard-fought contest, but he had no doubt that ultimate victory would be with his distinguished friend, Mr. Sheridan. Such was his ardent wish, and that wish he had expressed by his vote. With regard to the objections urged against his right hon. friend, on the grounds that he held a place ; and that, therefore, he ought not to have obtruded his pretensions upon the Electors of Westminster, but ought to sneak into Parliament through some rotten Borough—he deprecated the doctrine. It was a proof of the honesty of his right hon. friend's case, that he submitted himself to the judgment of so large a proportion of his Countrymen ; and if he had appealed to all the people of England, it would have been a still stronger evidence of his conscious rectitude. To such an appeal, particularly upon the grounds which his opponents advanced against him, he was sure his right hon. friend could have no objection, but would rather urge it with alacrity. His claims and character were now before the tribunal of the most numerous class of Electors in

the British Empire, and he had no doubt that the decision would be in his favour.

Sir S. HOOD observed upon the advantage which his friends had obtained over his adversary since yesterday. This advantage the hon. Admiral was glad to consider as an evidence that the friends of the Constitution were too formidable to be overcome by its enemies ; and he begged to present his thanks, which he did most cordially, to those Electors who had favoured Mr. Sheridan and himself with their support. He requested them to persevere in their exertions, and he had no doubt the result would be favourable to their wishes.

Mr. PAULL said, " he addressed the Electors for the eighth time, with much more confidence as to the issue of the contest than he had yet felt. Notwithstanding the assurances which, on Friday last, the meeting had heard from the place-hunting member for Coventry, that he would have been quite broken down before now—notwithstanding the influence and threats of the Minister of the Court and of the Heir Apparent to the Throne, his opponent, the Treasurer of the Navy, had no other resource than to be dragged along reluctantly with a rope about his neck, by the yellow Admiral. But how the yellow Admiral himself was able to furnish this aid, the Electors must be curious to know. He could assure them, that it was the result of a fraud of the foulest and most scandalous nature. He would explain to the meeting what he meant by the fraud. For the first four or five days of the Election, the yellow Admiral had

1

canvassed

canvassed in the parishes of St. John's and St. Margaret's, and assured the Voters that he had not, nor ever would have, any connection whatever with the Treasurer of the Navy. To this he pledged the honour of a British Admiral; but yet as soon as he had obtained 400 votes under this understanding, he forgot his pledge, and forfeited the promise which ought to be held inviolate. Thus did the yellow Admiral, covered with those marks of honour with which his Sovereign had favoured him, tarnish the credit and character of the British Navy. For when he had polled the voters with whom he made the compact, he set the compact at nought, and formed the coalition, which was equally the subject of public surprise and indignation. What added to his confidence in the result of this Election, the hon. Gentleman stated to be the declarations of Mr. Whitbread to-day. That Gentleman, whom he should wish to respect, had come forward to class himself with the place-hunting Peter Moore, who did not dare to shew his face upon the Hustings for some days back, by making confident predictions as to the future. But Mr. Whitbread would soon find his predictions unfounded, and would not again appear before the people to repeat any thing of the kind. For himself he could not but feel, that notwithstanding all the resistance he had met with, he was in a situation as proud as any individual in Westminster had ever occupied. As upon the close of the 8th day's poll in the celebrated contest between Mr. Fox and sir Cecil Wray, the former,

supported

supported as he was by all the Aristocracy, by the influence and the purses of no less than ten Dukes, was only 45 above his opponent; whereas he, opposed by the Court, the Heir Apparent, and all the Aristocracy, and supported only by the people, stood, at the same period, in a much higher situation. To the people and his principles alone he trusted; through them he hoped for victory. They might rely on it that he would, by perseverance, afford them every opportunity for exertion. Upon the fifteenth day of the poll they might depend on seeing him there, standing undaunted, whatever the result might be. He might be defeated, but he could not be disgraced. If he was defeated, however, he begged the people to reflect, that it would involve the defeat of English Liberty, for which alone he contended against the basest coalition that, perhaps, ever was formed. Of such a coalition he was sorry to see Mr. Whitbread a member, but he could hardly be surprised at any thing on the part of that gentleman, after what he had heard from him that day; after he had given the aid of his influence, to raise against him (Mr. Paull) the cry of Jacobinism. But he despised the calumniator as much as he detested the calumny. In considering, however, the character of the calumniator, the evidence of Samuel Whitbread, at O'Connor's trial, in Maidstone, naturally occurred to his recollection. And what did Samuel depose on that occasion? Why, that he considered O'Connor as a man of the highest honour, and that his sentiments were his own. Mr. Paull stated, that

upon the rectitude of his principles, he relied, for the preservation of his character against that calumny, the power of which, whether applied to his private or public character, he entirely disdained; and he was fully confident that when the reputation and consequence of Mr. Whitbread should sink into place, his character would, whatever might be the event of the present contest, stand well in the estimation of the Electors of Westminster, and of his Country."—Mr. Paull had no sooner concluded his speech, than he jumped down from the *Hustings*, amongst the crowd, and was, as formerly, conveyed home in triumph. The concourse of people was at this time exceedingly great, and the shouts of "Paull! Paull!" resounded from every quarter.

D I E D,

On *TUESDAY*, the 11th Day of *NOVEMBER*, 1806,
at *Half-past Four* in the Afternoon, at her
Lodgings, (the *Shakspeare Tavern*, *Covent-*
Garden,)

THE LAST HOPE

of

The Right Honourable

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN,

Treasurer of the Navy, &c. &c.

This *LADY*, after a short, but painful Illness, expired, with a violent Struggle, in the Arms of her Daughter *DESPAIR*, greatly lamented by all her Friends, as, by *HER Death*, that renowned

PATRIOT will be deprived of every Means of Subsistence, SHE having been his sole Support for a great number of Years. HER *Obsequies* will be attended to the Grave, with all due Solemnity, accompanied with the Groans and Tears of all the Placemen, Pensioners, Ministers, Clerks, Collectors, Tax-Gatherers, Fraudulent Debtors, Gamblers, Swindlers, Rogues and Vagabonds connected with the Family.

Mr. PAULL.

Three Queries.

Is not Mr. Paull the Agent of the Nabob of Oude?

Is he not in correspondence with Bonaparte?

Does he not know that

500,000

Frenchmen are to land in this Country before the Meeting of the

NEW PARLIAMENT?

NINTH DAY.

Wednesday, November 11.

At the close of the Polling, and before the numbers were announced,

Mr. WHITBREAD presented himself to the crowd, and spoke to the following purpose:—
“ Gentlemen, will you do me the favour to hear me? I have the greatest respect for you all, those who vote for Mr. Paull, as well as those who vote for my friend, Mr. Sheridan. I respect and honour honest and independent men, whether they vote for the one or for the other of these Candidates. I only wish, that those who are the friends of Mr. Paull, would procure silence, in order that that gentleman may hear me, as well as that you may hear me. If Mr. Paull had heard me yesterday, I am sure he would not have made the observations he did. All that I said, as to the Candidates, was, that I had a respect for them all. I never called Mr. Paull a Jacobin, nor made use of any expression as to his principles. His principles, I only said, were before you, as well as those of the other Candidates. It is for you to judge for yourselves, which of them you like the best. Gentlemen, I believe the result of the poll to-day is in favour of Mr. Sheridan, and, I trust, it will continue to be so, and that he will be triumphant. Whether he be so or not, however, I hope that all of the independent Electors of Westminster will have expressed their sense, by polling for one

one or other of the Candidates, let the majority be for whom it will. I shall be glad that this contest has been fought, and that the true sense of the Electors has been taken." [Mr. Whitbread was here interrupted by huzzas, and loud bursts of laughter, occasioned by some one amongst the crowd calling out, that ' Mr. Whitbread's impudence was much stronger than his porter. '] " I have no objection," continued he, " to talk to any one amongst you, so long as you shew yourselves to be so good-humoured, but I would rather it had been over some pots of my porter, for the more you drink of it the better.—[*Loud laughter*]. I have never met but with the greatest civility on the part of all the Electors to whom I have spoken, and I never attempted, by undue means, to prevail upon any of you to vote improperly. If any attempts of that nature have been made, I trust that the discovery of them will lead to the punishment of the offenders. You heard an allusion made yesterday by Mr. Paull, as to what I had said in a Court of Justice, upon the trial of O'Connor, at Maidstone. I have only to observe, upon that subject, that I wish that every thing I ever have said, either there, or in the House of Commons, should be read and heard by you all; for I should not have had the impudence to appear before the people of England, as I now do, unless conscious of having been their friend. When I cease to be your friend, I hope you will cease to be mine. I think I cannot shew a greater friendship to you, than by supporting that Candidate whom

I do

I do now support. I thank you very much for hearing me thus far, and as the numbers polled are now to be announced, I shall leave Mr. Sheridan to address you himself."

The state of the poll stood thus :

Sir Samuel Hood 4301

Mr. Paull 3658

Mr. Sheridan 3548

Mr. SHERIDAN stood forward, and addressed the Electors as follows: " Gentlemen, what I told you before, I am still perfectly convinced of, namely, that not one of you, however noisy you may have been at times, is in your heart my enemy. I repeat what also I mentioned on a former occasion, that none of your description can be inimical to me. For, to the working part of the community, I have been always friendly. I have the pleasure to inform you, that I am, on this day's poll, no less than 94 a-head of my opponent. I am sure you will be happy to hear this. [*Hisses*]. Notwithstanding this partial interruption, I cannot believe that you do not unanimously wish me success. Some of you appear to look grim at me, and inclined to abuse me. But neither you, or any others of a similar inclination, have produced any facts against me, although I have frequently called for them. When any accusations are brought forward against me, that are founded in truth, I shall answer them. For such accusations I have waited, but none such have appeared; and, I believe, that those who know me will admit, that if I wait for such charges, I shall wait in vain. What can have

have credence only with irreclaimable fools, or irreconcilable enemies, and can make no impression upon the candid or the intelligent, it would be useless, and beneath me to answer. Many of you, gentlemen, have thought proper to abuse me, but I have borne your abuse with good temper, for I knew it was not the effect of ill-will. I have heard nothing to-day that would at all justify any feeling of anger towards you. Some of you were conceived to be rather harsh yesterday; and the poor green man, who was such a distinguished orator, was taken into custody. The poor man wrote to me to-day, stating, that he had no prejudice whatever against me, but that he was paid for abusing me; adding, that he was paid so badly that he was determined to abandon his party, if set at large. I pitied the poor man, ordered his release, and gave him money. But although this man was influenced by payment, there are others who act from prejudice, artfully excited by the grossest misinformation. I am told that the journeymen of particular professions have been entrapped into the confederacy against me. What! that a description of persons who have always found in me the stoutest friend, should become my opponents, does astonish me indeed. Of these opponents I learn that the majority are journeymen shoemakers—the very class of persons from whom I should expect a decided partiality—the very class by whom I have been chosen six times to parliament—the very persons, really, with whom I fondly thought myself as great a favourite as Crispin himself. Indeed I feel

that there is no class in the community with whom I ought to be so popular as with the journeymen. Between them and their masters I have always wished to promote reconciliation and harmony ; but when I have found the journeymen oppressed, I have never remitted any effort in my power to relieve them. In proof of this disposition I could state many instances, but there is one in particular which a gentleman now on the Hustings can testify. It is that of the journeymen calico printers. These men were oppressed—I took up their cause, and at length succeeded in procuring them relief. And in testimony of their gratitude, they, poor men ! made me a present of a rich set of calico furniture, which I was glad to accept. But, gentlemen, there are other tradespeople which I could quote among those who ought to be my friends. There is one announced through town, which if I could believe hostile, I should be astonished in the extreme. I mean the journeymen printers. What ! that any persons connected with the press, for the liberty of which I have ever strenuously contended, should range themselves under any standard adverse to me ! The moment the thing was told me, I believed it to be an imposture, and I now know it to be so ; for I find that the name ostentatiously held forth as the Chairman of a meeting of Printers, is unknown in the trade in Westminster. This publication, therefore, is but an Election trick. Mr. S. congratulated the meeting on the good temper which appeared to prevail among them, and assured them that his own example should

should always serve to encourage that disposition. When low on the poll, he expressed no discontent ; now, when he was high, he should express no exultation, although, under all the disadvantages with which he had to contend, he had reason to exult in the state of the poll. But he would not dwell upon it. He looked to the result of the contest with confidence, and should conclude with crying, "Admiral Hood and Sheridan for ever !"

Sir S. HOOD, adverting to some allusions made to him by Mr. PAULL yesterday, observed that the contempt he felt for any ridicule that might be pointed at the honours he wore, could only be equalled by his pride in thinking that he had been considered by his Sovereign as deserving of such distinction. The hon. Admiral thanked the Electors for the evidence they had afforded of their partiality, and requested them to afford still more by using all their endeavours to raise Mr. Sheridan on the poll.

Mr. PAULL—"Gentlemen, I appear before you for the ninth time, more proud, and more happy, than I was during the former days of this contest. Mr. Whitbread has accused me of being a jacobin. I fought at the back of that hon. gent. for two sessions of parliament, when he brought his accusations against lord Melville ; and great as the reputation has been which he has acquired upon that subject, it will not exempt Mr. Whitbread from that abhorrence in which I hold his after-conduct. If Mr. Whitbread had read the resolutions at the Crown and Anchor, (see p. 11.) I hardly think

he could have come here as an Elector, to calumniate me. I hope the day will soon come, when Mr. Whitbread will exert himself for the people of England; will abandon the coalition; will abandon the ear of an arrogant minister, and once more become the friend of the people, which, I say, he is not at present. Attend to the scene which has been exhibited at this place, and the compromise which has been made betwixt the other two Candidates for the City of Westminster! can you believe it, that the whigs of England were obliged to come chained to the car, in order to give their votes? Gentlemen; had nothing else occurred during this Election, than the seeing Mr. Whitbread come here to stand by my side, battling such a cause with me and the independent Electors of Westminster, an apostate from the whig club, I say, it must be owned that I have gained a great victory. You find now, that whigs, instead of being our concealed friends, have become our open enemies. [*Shouts and bursts of applause from all quarters.*] Was not one of the Court Candidates, I mean sir S. Hood, the nephew of my lord Hood, a man who was ever the avowed friend of Mr. Pitt, proposed by lord W. Russell? Good God! gentlemen, can I mention the name? It was he that came here as an advocate for the principles of lord Grenville!! Mr. Whitbread, too, is not ashamed to show his face in a similar predicament; he, to whom the people of this City were accustomed to look up as their last refuge; he, I say, is not ashamed to declare himself an advocate for this Court

Court Candidate, and of lord Grenville, who was formerly against the measures of Mr. Pitt! you find, gentlemen, that lord W. Russell, the brother of the present duke of Bedford, comes forward to support all the worst principles of that deceased minister; those principles he formerly detested. It would have been more honourable for him to have mounted the scaffold in chains, than to have acted as he did. Mr. Whitbread comes forward here with his eloquence, in order to rivet the chain closer, by supporting Mr. Sheridan, instead of supporting the rights of independent Electors. I ask Mr. Whitbread, what principles of mine can be objected to by any honest man? I stood in the last parliament in the same situation as he did. I stood forward to prosecute a great state delinquent, as he did. I, however, did not get the aid, in that arduous undertaking, which he did. I supported him with my voice, soul and heart. He, too, once shewed some feeble inclination to support the just cause in which I was engaged; but, alas! on the day of trial, he was not to be found in the house of commons, to lend that aid, which I had every reason to expect. Although Mr. Whitbread could not appear in the cause of justice, yet he can be found, with his voice and his purse, to support a man destitute of honour, one who has nothing else than the principles of a ——. This, Mr. Whitbread says, will be a most glorious triumph for his friend. I am proud of such exertions, for we are not yet defeated, and I shall not be defeated, even though the voice of the Electors go against me. I cannot
be

be disgraced. I shall still get off with more honour, than that distinguished statesman, Mr. Fox. Mr. Whitbread seemed to exult in the idea of my defeat ; but I am sure it was not the cordial sentiment of his heart ; because he must feel, that my defeat will be the ruin and degradation of that party, of which he is a distinguished member. I will not be deterred, till the last hour, although I stand here alone. While my opponents have been supported with their orators and with money, I declare that I have not opened a house, nor given one single pot of porter, either directly or indirectly, to any individual whatever. I am sorry that I do not see the hon. Admiral in his place, at this moment, because, I repeat, in the face of the people of England, that he has been guilty of a most gross fraud, disgraceful to the character of a gentleman ; he has broken that pledge of honour which an admiral ought to hold sacred. I say, that he has brought forward 400 votes, which he would not have got, had he not made a false promise. I appeal for the truth of my assertion, to Mr. Potter, the churchwarden of St. Margaret's and St. John's. I am accused of having been supported by colonel Bosville. I can solemnly declare, that I never was indebted for one farthing to him. I have stood alone upon your good wishes. I say that he has been guilty of adding a direct falsehood to his previous breach of honour. Is not this enough to call forth the spirit of the country ? My triumph is now more glorious than formerly. I have this day polled more votes than any of them, because
theirs

theirs have been split votes, bought by money taken from the Treasury, while my voters have come voluntarily forward, without fee or reward. Finding that I am not vulnerable in my political principles, Mr. Whitbread has gone the length of saying, that I am a bigot in religion. I know not what foundation he has for this; but, I must say, that I would go as great lengths as any man for the protection of our civil and religious Liberty; and have already shewn myself as zealous an advocate for both, as Mr. Whitbread, or any of his friends. I understand it has been announced, by Mr. Sheridan to the marshall of the King's Bench, that he and his friends will pay the debts of certain Electors therein confined, if they will come forward and vote for him. These are the efforts used, gentlemen, for the purpose of smothering the last spark of the Liberty and Independence of Westminster. The whigs have coalesced, and now endeavour to make themselves agreeable to the tory ministers. They, therefore, stand denounced to the indignation of the people."—Mr. Paull concluded a speech of great length, by repeating, that he would persevere against every such coalition as had been formed, and that he was not in the least afraid of having both his public and his private character discussed by his adversaries, with the most scrupulous exactness. He never thought of standing a Candidate for Westminster, till he saw that it had been first sold to that illustrious nobleman, lord Percy; abandoned by the treasurer of the navy, and sold to an arrogant and profligate minister. At that time he

had

had a seat in Parliament, but he saw, that if he did not stand forward, Westminster would become as close a borough as Old Sarum, or any in the Kingdom.

Mr. WHITBREAD again offered himself.—“Gentlemen,” said he, “I must again claim your indulgence, as I have been introduced particularly to your notice, for many things which I have never said, and many things which I have never done. Although Mr. Paull be an independent man, he is not the only independent man in the Kingdom. In my estimation, and that of every man of common sense, no man can retire from these Hustings, disgraced, unless he disgrace himself. I never did characterise Mr. Paull’s principles; I only said, that they were before you. As to his religion, I never enquired into it. With regard to Court Candidates, I know of none. I support those who were united to him, whom Mr. Paull calls the illustrious Mr. Fox; and, I trust, that they will act as he did. I prefer those who are of his principles, as much as you yourselves can do. Mr. Paull has said, that if he be beaten, Westminster will never have a free Election again. This I believe to be as false, as when he said, there would never be a free Election after earl Percy was chosen. Mr. Paull has asserted, that you were sold to earl Percy, and now to Mr. Sheridan. This is also an erroneous assertion. Every individual has a right to subscribe to the legal expences of Elections. I have done it, and he may do the same. Support you any Candidate you may think proper. I can only say, that I
am,

am, and have been, the firm supporter of your rights and independence, and as such shall also support my own independence, by aiding whatever Candidate I think most proper."

MR. PAULL said, that it would have been Mr. Whitbread's duty, as a friend of the people of England, one who reprobated the political character of Mr. Pitt, to have shewn his reprobation of sir S. Hood, who must follow the steps, and adopt the principles of lord Hood, his uncle, who was an admirer of that minister. He had formerly thought that lord Howick and Mr. Whitbread would have stepped forward to support their country, after the death of that illustrious statesman, Mr. Fox, whose principles they so much admired while living; soon, however, symptoms of abandonment were evident; and now they openly declared themselves the advocates of the opposite party. Even Mr. Fox himself had been attempted to be tampered with. He should only further add, that it appeared every expedient had been put into practice, to put an extinguisher over his hopes in this great national cause. If there was one principle which lord Grenville had nearer to his heart than another, it was the protection of a great State Delinquent; and for that purpose, principally, did the dissolution of Parliament take place. He declared he had no private enmity against the marquis Wellesley, nor could it be said that he was acting an ungrateful part, as he could solemnly declare, he never received a favour from him in his life.—Mr. Paull retired, as usual, amidst the joyful

acclamations of the people. It was dark before the busines of this day concluded.

A Lesson to be learnt by those who are compelled to beg Votes for the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan.

PRAY, Gentlemen, give your Vote to Mr. *Sheridan*!

Mr. *Sheridan* is sorry you have found him out—in making a present of you, to the House of Northumberland.

Mr. *S.* is sorry his Jew's tricks with the Duke has been discovered.

Mr. *S.* begs you will not remember he refused your nomination at the Crown and Anchor.

Mr. *S.* begs you to forget he “could not desert his old and worthy Constituents of Stafford.”

Mr. *S.* begs you to believe he forgot—all he had formerly said against the Income Tax, being Five per Cent. when he voted to make it Ten per Cent.

Mr. *S.* begs you to believe, that the giving Six Thousand per Annum to each of the Royal Dukes out of your Ten per Cent. Income Tax, will not make the difference of One Farthing to you.

Mr. *S.* begs you to believe, that he had your interest most sincerely at heart when he voted that the King's private property in the Funds should not be liable to the Income Tax.

Mr. S. begs you to remember, that Parliament is to him what a Cathedral used to be to men who had in former times violated the laws.

Mr. S. implores you not to consign him to his merciless creditors, who, he fears, would unanimously return him to a large stone building, not called the House of Commons, but which is, nevertheless, a very Common House.

Mr. S. promises, that if you will grant him the Sanctuary, for Seven Years, which he so ardently wishes, he will not care a dump for you, nor be any thing, as he himself observes, “ but what he has been.”

IN THE PRESS,

And speedily will be published,

A NEW AND CORRECT EDITION

Of a celebrated and often-performed PLAY, call'd,
THE DOUBLE DEALER;

With considerable Additions, Commentaries, Annotations, and Illustrations, New, Wonderful, Ingenious, and Surprising;

By that most admirable

PLAYWRIGHT AND SHIFTER,

The Right Honourable

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN,

TREASURER OF THE NAVY,

*Pensioner of 4000*l.* a Year, &c. &c. &c.*

Drawn from the Vitals of the Industrious

P O O R !

Who are the Supporters of Mr. Sheridan?

Cripplegate, a desperate Gambler, who, having cheated every Body else, now wishes to cheat you.

Newgate, the hopeful Brother of *Cripplegate*, a *Divine*, Electioneering Jobber, who would rather rightly regulate other Men's Conduct than his own.

A late Jacobin *Printer*, who was pillory'd, in *Dublin*, for Sedition; and now Reports for *Perry's Apostate Chronicle!!*

A *Sheriff's Broker and Officer*, who threatens to sieze the Beds of those honest People who refuse to Vote for him.

Cribb, Mellish, Cody, Petersham, Britten, O'Donnell, Craven, and Ryan—hired Bruisers.

All the *Muck-worms and Blood-suckers* who live upon the Industry of the

P O O R !

THE COMPARISON.

A NEW SONG.

I.

COME, listen a moment, Electors, I pray;—
 I'll say what I think, but I'll sing what I say;—
 'Tis about our Election, and Candidates three;
 So hear, and I'll bet you a pound we agree.

Derry down.

First

2.

First of all, on the Hustings, a Hero behold,
 Courageously great, and triumphantly bold :
 So ingenuous, free-hearted, so candid and good,
 Not a vice, not a fault is *cloak'd* under this *Hood*.

3.

The next, you all know, is the staunch Friend of Man,
 Who stands forth for your Freedom whenever he can ;—
 'Tis SHERIDAN's self, whose rare talents, so join'd,
 Shew the *Patriot*, the *Wit*, and the *Statesman* combin'd.

4.

But who is that odd little fellow beyond,
 Who looks like a pickpocket dragg'd to a pond ?
 'Tis a candidate too, whose pretensions must fall,
 Since his nonsense, my friends, all your stomachs must PALL.

5.

To talk of his *measures* would smell of the trade ;
So-so are the speeches he buys *ready-made* ;
 And so cruel aboard, that, take this as a hint,
 With the Soul of a *dung*, he's the heart of a *flint*.

6.

Not one who is near me would give him a Vote ;
 And sure, as his *cloth* is he must cut his *coat* ;—
 He'd *cabbage* your Freedom by dint of abuse ;
 But you'll make him *sheer off*, as he looks, like a *goose*.

7.

Compare then and judge, you'll have nought to regret,
 In rejecting the friend of Sir *Francis Burdett* ;
 Who, not being content to knock Middlesex down,
 Leaves his lacquey behind him to *knock up the Town*.

8.

Then all fill your glasses high, sparkling with wine,
 To SHERIDAN, HOOD, and to FREEDOM divine—
 May our good *Constitution* no *ruffians* disserve !—
 KING GEORGE, and the *Rights of Election*, for ever !

Derry down.

A WESTMINSTER SONG.

Tune—*Mrs. Arne, Mrs. Arne—or, My Dog and my Gun—or,
Derry Down.*

1.

ELECTORS, Electors,
Our Freedom's Protectors,
Attend while of Statesmen I sing :
Their fame I'll rehearse,
In a plain-dealing verse—
But first—here's a health to the King,
Electors ;
But first—here's a health to the King.

2.

Lord Grenny, proud Grenny,
Holds places so many,
He King, Lords, and Commons, derides :
How the Poor can get bread,
Never enters his head,
So he butters his own on both sides :
Proud Grenny ;
So he butters his own on both sides.

3.

Then *Temple, Lord Temple.*
His means are so ample,
By all *nimming Neddies* is courted ;
In the Public Purse diving,
He's chuckling and thriving ;
And though still in Hampshire—transported.
Lord Temple ;
And though still in Hampshire—transported.

4.

Doctor Sid, Doctor Sid,
You must do as you're bid ;
You must sweeten each pill and each potion ;
Or from Gallipot-hen
Near Richmond Park-wall,
Greenville's purse will soon give you a notion
Doctor Sid ;
Greenville's Purse will soon give you a notion

5.

Howick Grey, Howick Grey,
 How oft did you say
 You'd ne'er barter Freedom for Riches ;
 Yet the Admiral's Board,
 For the Treasury Hoard,
 You left—just to garnish your breeches,
Howick Grey ;
 You left—just to garnish your breeches.

6.

Then *Petty*, young *Petty*,
 Just like *Master Betty* ;
 Of others the profit and tool—
 To save these young masters
 From future disasters
 Whip their bottoms, and send them to school,
Master Petty ;
 Whip their bottoms, and send them to school.

7.

Lauderdale, Lauderdale,
 Tell at Walmer your tale ;
 How to “ Paris you march'd ” in a crack—
Hawky 'll envy your share,
 Though you did nothing there,
 Because you have safely march'd back,
Lauderdale ;
 Because you have safely march'd back.

8.

Sir Sammy, Sir Sammy,
 Your character, damme,
 For courage is hearty and good ;
 But Englishmen's backs
 Shrink from tortures and racks,
 And from two faces under a *Hood*,
Sir Sammy ;
 And from two faces under a *Hood*.

9.

Oh, *Sherry!* red *Sherry!*
 You'd make us all merry,
 With your drolls, your stage-tricks, and curvetts;
 But don't, on Old Davy,
 Draw drafts for the Navy;
 Nor pay 'em as you pay your debts,
 Red Sherry;
 Nor pay 'em as you pay your debts.

10.

Lord Wellesley, Lord Wellesley,
 No fiend, tho' in hell, sly,
 Seems half so secure as you sit;
 You thought, dissolution
 Would stop prosecution;—
 You'll find that the biter is bit,
 Lord Wellesley;
 You'll find that the biter is bit.

11.

Then PAULL, honest PAULL,
 We cry, one and all,
 Hunt him down to the brink of disgrace;
 In spirit's true tone,
 (Till hell gets her own),
 Hark forward! nor give up the chase,
 Honest PAULL;
 Hark forward! nor give up the chase.

12.

To *St. Stephen's* we'll send
 Our Britain's best friend,
 No courage nor honour he'll lack;
 Though wolves and their whelps
 Join howlings and yelps—
 He'll worry and tear the whole pack,
 Honest PAULL;
 He'll worry and tear the whole pack.

*Mr. Sheridan's Letter to Mr. P. Moore, respecting
John Davenport. (See p. 51.)*

SIR,

Somerset-Place, Nov. 13, 1806.

I have received a Petition from JOHN DAVENPORT, the man who assaulted me, as I left the Hustings, the first day of the Election. It appears to me to be dictated by very artless and sincere contrition. He states himself to have been very much intoxicated at the time, which I find to be true; and avers he did not know it was me he struck at. He further urges, that his wife, who has lost the use of her right hand, and a large family, might perish for want, if deprived of his support; and on their account very penitently implores my forgiveness. I do very freely forgive him, and request you, sir, with the approbation of the Committee, to take proper measures to procure his liberty, and to provide that his family may not be injured by his confinement.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

To PETER MOORE, Esq.

R. B. SHERIDAN.

Old Shakspeare Tavern.

*John Davenport's Letter to Mr. Sheridan, on his
Release from Confinement.*

Sir, I should be greatly wanting in my duty to myself, as well as in gratitude, not to return, in the earliest manner, my sincerest thanks to you and your Committee, for my liberation from confinement, which, though unjust on my account, yet it reflects the highest honour and liberality of soul

on the part of you and your Committee. Sir, the emotions that must be felt by you on this occasion, can only be equalled by the transports of joy and gratitude of a helpless wife and three infant children, in being restored to a husband and parent who is the means of their support; and I am sure, sir, that your conduct on this occasion, will afford you as much satisfaction, as it will excite gratitude in the breasts of me and my family, for my emancipation from confinement.

I am, with all possible respect, Sir, &c.

No. 3, Cock-court, New-street,
Carnaby Market, Nov. 14, 1806.

J. DAVENPORT,

P. S. Right Honourable Sir—Humbly hoping you will stop any farther proceedings against me, I have procured a friend to indite this for me—but it is every word from my heart.

TENTH DAY.

Thursday, November 13.

Mr. Sheridan appeared on the Hustings about two o'clock. One of the more distinguished orators of the mob told Mr. Whitbread, that if his porter were as strong as his assurance, that it would sell astonishingly well; — “but,” retorted Mr. Whitbread, “if it were as strong as your impudence, I should get nothing by it.” In answer to a question from one of the mob, Mr. Sheridan stated that if Mr. Paull should bring forward that charge, respecting the conduct of marquis Wellesley, in India, upon which alone he had pledged himself, the hon. gentleman should have his most decided support.

About three o'clock, Mr. Cobbett approached Mr. Sheridan on the Hustings, and asked whether the words ascribed to the right hon. gentleman, in the newspapers, in the report of the proceedings at Willis's Rooms, (see p. 128.) were really uttered by him; namely, whether he had said, that a proposition was made to him by Mr. Paull's friends, to give him all that gentleman's second-votes, if he would consent to coalesce with him; but that he (Mr. S.) rejected the proposition with disdain? To this question he stated that he would reply by the publication of Mr. Cobbett's and other letters, in the newspapers of to-morrow, with some comments. The question

was frequently repeated by Mr. Cobbett, but Mr. Sheridan declined giving any other reply. Mr. Cobbett's own account of what passed will be given in a subsequent page.

At the close of the Poll the numbers were,

For Sir Samuel Hood 4547

Mr. Paull 3799

Mr. Sheridan 3791

Mr. WHITBREAD then announced that Mr. Paull was, upon the whole poll, only 8 a-head of his illustrious friend Mr. Sheridan. He therefore wished the friends of Mr. Sheridan joy, and begged his enemies to keep themselves in temper. [*Applauses and hisses.*]

Mr. SHERIDAN repeated the words of Mr. Whitbread, exhorting the people to preserve their temper; and he was the more induced to press this exhortation, because he felt the best wishes towards every one of them. He knew their disposition, and was certain that not one among them was his enemy; but, on the contrary, that they now felt ashamed of having been so long made the dupes of the vile misrepresentations and falsehoods which had been propagated respecting his conduct and character. The contest would not, he was sure, terminate until the public would be fully convinced of the turpitude of his accusers, and that he had never declined, in any instance, to do all that was in his power to discharge every obligation to which man was bound to attend, either by the precepts of justice or the feelings of generosity. To loose and general calumnies, how-

ever, it was impossible for him to answer, and with those who could be imposed upon by such calumnies, it would perhaps be absurd to argue. Against the suggestions of the prejudiced, and the clamours of the ignorant, no man could protect his reputation; but to precise specific accusation, for which he had looked, in vain, in the course of this contest, it was the duty of a man to make a defence. None such having offered, he must leave it to the candid, the just, the reflecting part of the community to refute the malignity of his opponents. Returning to the state of the poll, he dwelt upon the omen which it afforded of ultimate victory. This victory would, he trusted, be borne by his opponents with the same temper as that which he declared he should feel were it his lot to be defeated. [*Applauses and hisses.*—He regretted the absence of his *broad-faced* friend, for he was sure that, although rather harsh in his attacks upon him, he would still have the good-nature and good temper to procure a hearing from him in reply. The interruption he had met with augured ill of the cause it was meant to sustain. His cause required not the aid, but would be injured by the interposition of irregularity; and, therefore, he deprecated every thing of this kind on the part of his friends. Here he adverted to the dinner which was fixed for this day, at the Crown and Anchor, where, he assured the gentlemen in front of the Hustings, he should drink all their good healths, and he should not trespass longer on their attention here. As the days were shorter, he felt that so should

his

his speaking be shorter ; for he did not like to prolong the meeting until dark ; wishing, as he always did, to speak and to act in the face of open day. He did not care, however, whether the days or the speaking was long, provided he was longer on the poll than his opponent. After repeating his resolution to bury every thing in oblivion that had been offered against him in the course of the Election ; to forgive ail who had injured him, as he had forgiven the man who struck him the first day, and the green orator ; he exhorted the meeting to make a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, in support of sir Samuel Hood and Mr. Sheridan.

Sir. S. Hood, in returning thanks to the meeting, repeated the concluding exhortation of Mr. Sheridan, and his contempt for the disposition and power of his calumniators.

Mr. PAULL expressed his satisfaction at the present state of the poll, and his confident expectation as to the final result. He exulted in the progress he had made, notwithstanding the resistance he had to encounter. He animadverted upon the conduct of certain persons among his opponents, particularly colonel Britten and his son. The former knew well what he was after. He was candidate for a baronetcy, and the misconduct of the son was such, that he had ordered him to be prosecuted for perjury in the vote he had given.—[Captain Britten, who was present, exclaimed, “ Upon the part of myself and my father, fellow, I tell you you are a liar.”—Mr. Paull continued, and animadverted in

in terms of marked severity upon the outrageous behaviour of several braves of the aristocracy in the course of the Election; many of whom were to be seen among the leaders of hired ruffians, committing every description of violence. Of those leaders the hon. gentleman particularly mentioned, lord Petersham, and Mr. Berkeley Craven. But the endeavours used by such persons suited the cause they came forward to support. They could not, however, succeed in upholding the unfortunate, degraded Treasurer of the Navy; although their anxiety to save him from sinking into a jail, to die there, must naturally urge them to great and extraordinary exertions to secure his return to Parliament. Then the hon. gentleman, in alluding to the declaration reported by the newspapers to have been made by Mr. Sheridan, at Willis's Rooms, that he had tendered that right hon. gentleman his second votes, if he would coalesce with him, but that that right hon. gentleman treated the proposition with disdain, assured the meeting that this statement of the Treasurer of the Navy was utterly unfounded; but that, on the contrary, to a proposition of a similar nature which was made to his Committee, upon the third day of the poll, by a letter from a Mr. Rodwell, one of Mr. Sheridan's Committee, a direct and immediate denial was given; and that denial was given with his advice; for he could never reconcile it to his mind to form any connection with this degraded apostate. The only communication his friends had had with the Treasurer

surer of the Navy, was by a letter from Mr. Cobbett to him, on the Sunday before the publication of his first address; and the only object of this letter was to provide that the Election should be conducted with temper and quietness. The hon. gentleman stated, that he had the assurance of 700 honest tradesmen that they would come up tomorrow, and each of them declared to him on his canvass, that they were surprised any honest man could vote for the Treasurer of the Navy. The hon. gentleman asserted, that the whole expence of the Election of Mr. Sheridan was defrayed by money taken from the pockets of the people. He assured the meeting, that he was very little known to those who supposed that he was to be appalled by any reverse of fortune or menace of faction; and in this contest he was resolved to persevere to the utmost. Of success he could not allow himself to doubt, until the High Bailiff should actually declare the return against him. But even after he had no doubt that a scrutiny would, by shewing the number of fictitious and fraudulent votes polled for his opponents, serve to place him in Parliament as the Representative for Westminster, and condemn the unhappy Treasurer of the Navy to sink,—never to rise again.

*Mr. Sheridan's Dinner at the Crown and Anchor.
November 18.*

This day a numerous and respectable meeting of the friends of Mr. Sheridan and sir S. Hood, dined at the Crown and Anchor tavern in the Strand.

Mr.

Mr. Whitbread in the chair. After dinner the following toasts, proposed by the chairman, were drunk with the greatest applause:—"The King," with three times three; "The Queen and all the Royal Family;" "The Prince of Wales," with three times three; "The Constitution,—the whole Constitution,—and nothing but the Constitution."—Mr. Whitbread observed, that there was one toast which might be expected from him, but which must rather dispose their minds to silent regret than that loud applause with which other toasts had been drunk. He proposed "The immortal and glorious memory, and never-to-be-forgotten example of the late Mr. Fox." It was drunk in silence. He then proposed the healths of "Mr. Sheridan and Sir S. Hood, and success to their Election." This was received with the warmest applause.

Mr. SHERIDAN rose, and addressed the meeting. In returning them thanks for the honour which they had done him, he would be brief. Having already expressed himself happy at the union that had lately taken place, he would now say little on that subject. He hoped that he would not prove so mean as to be mortified because sir S. Hood was at the head of the poll. Whether or not a proposition had been made to him to join with Mr. Paull, would appear from the letters of Mr. Paull and Mr. Cobbett, which would soon be published; but had it not been for an unfortunate misunderstanding, he and sir S. Hood would have been from the first together, and Mr. Paull would have
been

been no where—[*plaudits*]. Sir Samuel Hood was here in his proper situation, in that situation in which he was at Aboukir—he had shot a-head to take soundings, and he trusted that to-morrow Admiral Paull would be obliged to drop astern—[*applause*]. He need not repeat what he had before said in praise of the British Navy. He believed as he had before expressed himself, that it might not be difficult in that glorious profession to point out the equal of sir S. Hood, but that it would be impossible to point out his superior. Mr. Paull had told them that he and sir Samuel Hood mortally hated each other. (See p. 76.) How he could find out that, he did not know: but if there was a man who entertained a higher respect than another for our Naval Officers, and who considered our Navy as the peculiar guardian of our Liberties, our King, and our Constitution, he was that man, and he had shewed it in his public conduct. It had been objected to sir S. Hood, that he had other duties to perform. When the gallant Commadore was called away, he would undertake his share of the duty. For exerting himself he would have a double inducement, for he would then be the representative of Westminster and sir S. Hood. He hoped they would exert themselves in his favour, with the same spirit as they would against Buonaparté's tyranny, or insidious pretenders to Liberty, and concluded by thanking them for the exertions they had already made.

Sir S. Hood then thanked the meeting. He adverted to the advantages which the Constitution

had received from his right hon friend, and particularly to the benefit which he had conferred on the Navy. He declared from his heart, that he always understood that the Navy looked up to him particularly as its advocate. He hoped therefore, that he would experience that support which he deserved, in opposition to the faction against which they were now contending.

Mr. SHERIDAN then rose, and after some observations upon the different degrees of rank in society, and the manner in which a mixture of the young men of rank, with those of the middle and lower classes of the people, would affect the whole, and the utility of calling up to high honours and situations, those who, by their zeal and arduous endeavours for the good of the State, had rendered themselves worthy that situation—he gave “The health of Mr. Whitbread.” [*plaudits.*]

Mr. WHITBREAD returned thanks to the meeting for the honour they had done him, and for the manner in which that honour had been conferred. The two persons who, he hoped, would be returned for Westminster, were popular Candidates. To the one he had long been attached; to the other he was certainly warmly attached in this cause. He said they were both popular Candidates, because he did not see why the government and the people should always be at variance. He, on the contrary, looked forward to the day when they would most cordially unite. Even though Mr. Paull should be successful, he would look on them as the two popular Candidates; because he

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thought

thought that as much tyranny might be exercised on the real sense of the people by misleading them, as by other improper influence. Bribes, or threats, or any sort of influence to induce the people to vote against their consciences, he thought wrong, and he knew of none such that had been exerted on the side of his friends. Assertions had been made respecting undue influence, but assertion and proof were very distinct things. The exertions that had been made in favour of those who were in fact the popular Candidates were so far well, but he contended that these exertions ought not to relax till the end. He then adverted to the reports that had been spread respecting himself. If report said true, it had been said that he knew the road that had been chalked out for him, and that he looked to a peerage. The power of conferring honours had been judiciously, by the Constitution, placed in the hands of the King, and they were noble things when conferred on the deserving; but when conferred on those who had not deserved them, they were disgraceful to those who had improperly obtained them, and became in themselves less valuable. If a Nelson walked the streets; who could be at a loss to tell why he wore a star—or why he was called “My Lord?” If any one should ask why Lord Nelson’s brother was an Earl; who would not readily answer, because Nelson fought and fell at Trafalgar? Among the military, too, he could mention many who had been deservedly ennobled. A near and dear relation of his had deservedly obtained that honour—

he

he alluded to lord Grey, who had fought at the battle of Minden, and performed other eminent service. If a peerage should be offered to him (Mr. W.), he would ask what he had done to deserve it; and he would not take it. But he was surprised to hear those who talked much about the Constitution, and the popular part of the Constitution, which was the most prominent, speaking of place in the manner they had done. The people must be governed, and it was proper they should be governed by the persons best qualified for that purpose. Without applying this to himself, he observed, that if a place were offered to him, where he was confident he could serve the people, and from which he could, by accepting it, keep out one who would be allowed to be less qualified, most certainly he would accept that place, with a determination to lay it aside the moment it interfered with his duty. This much he thought it proper to say, on account of the reports that had prevailed respecting himself. As to the enquiry respecting Marquis Wellesley, it did not follow that it should not be taken up, though Mr. Paull should not be returned to Parliament; although he had no particular objection to Mr. Paull. If a dissolution had taken place while he was engaged in the enquiry which had lately occupied his attention, there were others certainly who would have taken it up. And in every enquiry of the sort, he only wished that equal diligence, as he had applied, might be employed, and that the issue might be more successful if the accused should be guilty; and that the acquittal might

might be at least as complete if the accusation should be unfounded. If the accusation were unfounded, the sifting of the case, at any rate, would turn out to the honour of the accused. He expressed a hope, that he should retain the name merely of Mr. Whitbread ; that his name might ever continue honourable to himself, and his situation useful to his country. He concluded by giving " the health of Mr. T. Sheridan."

Mr. T. SHERIDAN thanked the meeting, and felt so invigorated by the several patriotic toasts which had been given, that he felt ready to canvass for almost a thousand votes. He differed from Mr. Whitbread in his opinion of Mr. Paull so much, that he was in doubt whether he would not *raise* him in the estimation of society, by *kicking him out of it*.

Mr. SHERIDAN expressed his opinion that the Revolution in France was, in a great measure, occasioned by the contempt of the Nobility for the People, and their inattention to their cause. He proposed the health of " Mr. Berkeley Craven." This was drunk with applause. " The Houses of Russell and Cavendish," were then given and drunk with enthusiasm. " Mr. P. Moore's Health," was also received with applause ; and the company separated, under an implied engagement, that each should to-morrow bring at least one vote to the Poll.

HOOD AND SHERIDAN FOR EVER!

Success to Placemen, Courtiers, and Apostates!

Damn PAULL, Honesty, and Independence!

Swindlers and *fraudulent Debtors* screened from
the Effects of the Law by a Seat in
Parliament!

Rogues rolling in Riches!

Honest Men of the *middling* Class struggling with
Adversity!

The *lower* Order without a *Bed left* to satisfy the
Rapacity of the TAX-GATHERER!

Honest Senators *sent to Sea*, lest in their simple
Ideas these Things should not be right!

Vice in Splendour, supported at the expense of
the public vitals!

Virtue pining in utter Distress!

Perish Commerce!

Perish the Constitution!

Perish the Swinish Multitude!

Survive Corruption and Ministerial Influence!

The Clamours of the Majority of an *agonized*

Nation drowned in the loud excess of

riotous Pleasures of an Aristocratical

Minority—of Peculators—of Loan

Jobbers — of Contractors — of

Political Scoundrels!

The FEW Rich; and the MANY Poor.

Huzza, my Boys—Hood and Sheridan for ever.
and a Fig for Paull and Patriotism!

PAULL

PAULL AND LIBERTY.

A NEW SONG.

Tune—*Tally Heigho.*

1.

ALL you who Freedom love,
 And count it such a blessing ;
 Come now, and to us prove,
 You think it worth possessing.
 Tally heigho, &c.
 Away, and vote for Paull, boys.

2.

Long while you've borne the weight
 Of tyranny and taxes ;
 Yet, in this hopeless state,
 Corruption stronger waxes.

3.

But if you would be free,
 Make this a grand endeavour ;
 And England's pow'r, you'll see,
 Will be as great as ever.

4.

'Tis PAULL alone can save
 The remnants of your Charter ;
 Because he's no vile Slave,
 Nor will your Freedom barter.

5.

Old Hood we'll send to Sea,—
 The best place for a Sailor ;
 For his Country there to be,
 When outward foes assail her—

6.

As no man can, you know,
 At once be in two places ;
 And this will clearly show
 His principle how base 'tis.

But

7.

But PAULL will always stand
The People's firm defender ;
With infamy will brand
Each rascally pretender.

8.

The Court all costs defray,
To make your champion fall, sirs ;
The only court we pay,
Is asking votes for PAULL, sirs.
Tally heigho, &c.
Away, and vote for Paull, boys.

ELEVENTH DAY.

Friday, November 14.

At the close of the Poll the numbers were :

Sir Samuel Hood 4812

Mr. Sheridan 4057

Mr. Paull 3954

MR. SHERIDAN addressed the Electors—"Gentlemen," said he, " I congratulate you upon the event of this day's Poll, which places me 103 votes a-head of Mr. Paull. I shall address you very shortly, because I cannot express myself without feeling some emotion of joy and exultation. I trust that you never will find me expressing myself in terms of insult towards my adversary. I understand that Mr. Paull (and I beg you to observe, that this is the first time, upon the Hustings, that I have condescended to mention his name,) has expressed himself in this place in terms of great scurrility. I scorn however to retort. I am at a distance from him; and I promise you that I do not read the things called his speeches. He may endeavour to persuade some of you, that I am an unfit person to represent you in Parliament, but he cannot deprive me of the mind and the manners of a gentleman. I am only convinced that he is woefully deficient in both. I was yesterday addressed by a person in the crowd, who said, he would vote for me, as well as Mr. Paull, if I would support Mr. Paull in his charges against the marquis Wellesley. I told him,

him,

him, that if those charges were just, I would do so; his reply then was, that he would vote for me. I am happy that I gave an answer to him as I did, because I know that this very day, that gentleman, a tin-plate-worker in Westminster, came forward and voted for me; and I am very sure, that my *broad-faced* friend, if he really had a vote to dispose of, would do the same. You must not slacken in your exertions,—you must persevere with spirit; and I am sure, that that zeal and spirit which has hitherto actuated you, will ultimately prove me successful in this contest.”

Sir S. HOOD stated his determination to support the principles of the Constitution, and thanked the Electors for the efforts they had made in his support.

Mr. PAULL said he was not discouraged by the majority which the Treasurer of the Navy had obtained. When he considered the ministerial and aristocratical influence which had been employed—when he knew that all the clerks in the public offices had been dragged to the Hustings—that the prisons had been ransacked, and men brought from a sick-bed to vote for the Court Candidates, he was indeed surprised, that he should stand in so glorious a situation on this day's Poll. They knew little of his character, who supposed that the advantage which the Court Candidate had by such means gained, would induce him to abandon the contest; but he wished the Electors to recollect what had been the conduct of the Treasurer

of the Navy during the first five days of the Election. He did not then dare to look his fellow citizens in the face. He had stated, that an attempt had been made on his way to the Crown and Anchor to assassinate him, by a person hired by his adversary. This was false; for it was well known that no rioters had been hired by him or his friends. But it was not this pretended assault which the Treasurer of the Navy said he met with, that occasioned his indisposition; for he stuck to his glass at the Crown and Anchor as long as he was able, and appeared to have suffered no injury from any blows, except from the blows he aimed at his own head, with his own hand. But what had been his conduct yesterday? Finding that his character was completely gone, he was at length obliged to say, that if Mr. Paull could get into Parliament, and should bring forward the charges already made against lord Wellesley, that he would support one of them. How far this profession was likely to be sincere, the Electors might judge from his former treacherous conduct. Five years ago he had moved the House of Commons for documents relating to what he styled one of the most atrocious and foulest murders ever committed, and which, if not enquired into and avenged, would leave an eternal disgrace on the English name. He meant the murder of the Nabob of the Carnatic. Session after session passed away, and Mr. Sheridan, at the end of each, renewed his notice on this subject for the next: but at the moment the Coalition took place

place between the Grenvilles and the Whigs, he had the audacity to come down to the House of Commons where he had so often solemnly pledged himself to prosecute this enquiry, and stated that he would proceed no farther. All the reason he had assigned for this conduct was, that to proceed in this business would have broken up the new administration, that is to say, would have made him lose his place. Now he says, that if another, against whom all the court influence is directed, does get into Parliament, that he will support him in doing what he is most solemnly pledged to do himself! With regard to the state of the Poll, it was always to be remembered that the voters for the Treasurer of the Navy were all conscripts dragged in chains to the Hustings. He had none, on the contrary, but volunteers, and it was not in his power to compel them to attend when he pleased. The business of labouring people did not permit them to come to the Hustings at a moment's notice. He had, however, received assurances that 800 honest, independent men had reserved their votes for him, in case he should finally want them, and he was confident he would, on Monday and Tuesday next, distance the Treasurer of the Navy as completely as he had done on the same days in the present week. He accused sir S. Hood of having in a base, dishonourable, and ungentlemanly manner, fraudulently obtained 400 votes, and then afterwards, on the Hustings, in a manner no less shameful, and, as he was convinced, illegally, and unconstitutionally, declaring
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that he would ask no more votes, but requesting all the votes that came to him might be given to Mr. Sheridan. He concluded by declaring that he would keep the Poll open to the last, and he would stand or fall with the Independence of the City of Westminster.

Mr. Sheridan's Dinner at the Bedford Coffee House, Covent Garden, November 14.

THIS day, a select meeting of the friends of Mr. Sheridan dined at the Bedford Coffee-house, Covent-garden; Peter Moore, Esq. in the chair. After the cloth was removed, the chairman proposed a toast, to which he thought necessary, in the present crisis of affairs, and under the circumstances of the present times, to make some addition, out of the general custom: "The King; and may his crown be wreathed with laurels, and his throne surrounded by honest men, and patriotic ministers!" He next gave—"The Queen and Royal Family;" with three—"The Prince of Wales;" with three times three, and loud applause—"The Independent Electors of Westminster;" with three times three—"The immortal memory of Mr. Fox;" drunk in solemn silence. Next, "the health of Mr. Sheridan and sir S. Hood, and success to their Election."

MR. SHERIDAN returned his most heartfelt thanks, for himself and sir S. Hood, who was absent. He repeated his intention of supplying
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the place of the gallant Commodore, and doing his duty in Parliament, while he should be absent, fighting the battles of his country. Although some mistake had arisen, perhaps through his own inadvertence or neglect, he assured his friends, that the most cordial co-operation existed between himself and the gallant Commodore. He sincerely thanked his worthy friends for their exertions in his favour, and felt confident in their final triumph. He repeated his satisfaction at the brave Commodore's retaining the head of the Poll, which was his proper station. Their worthy Chairman had been prevented from attending the Hustings for a few days, through indisposition, which had given Mr. Paull the opportunity of saying that he had beat him out of the field, and he was afraid to make his appearance there again; but he could tell Mr. Paull, he would be on the Hustings again to-morrow, and he rather thought he would find him at least his match. He concluded by observing, that, however he might feel ashamed by being beaten by Mr. Paull, he should feel himself still more disgraced in being his colleague. He then gave "The health of Mr. Peter Moore."

MR. PETER MOORE said, he was well known to most of the gentlemen present, and appealed to them, whether he had ever been intimidated or prevented from doing that which he conceived to be his duty? and he was not to be deterred from it by the scurrilous attacks of such a man as Mr. Paull. He was well acquainted with the people of Westminster, and knew their sentiments; and, as
he

he had already ventured to prophesy, he would at last completely extinguish this little satellite, who was nothing more than a sort of meteor, blown about by every blast of wind.—The event of this day's poll had, in some measure, extinguished him; but before the week ended, as he had already promised, he would put such an extinguisher upon him, as would cover him even to the heel. He then adverted to the speech of colonel Britten, a day or two before, and highly complimented him on the simile he had used, namely, that to reject Mr. Sheridan, and elect Mr. Paull, would be extinguishing the light of the sun, and setting up a little farthing rush-light.

Colonel BRITTEN rose, and, in a very spirited and animated speech, refuted the attacks of Mr. Paull upon him, as false and malicious; he gloried in that sun, who, in the very face of Mr. Paull, gave the lie to his assertions (see p. 166.). He was the old and steady friend of Mr. Fox, and had worn blue and buff for these 27 years; and he dared any man to say that he would turn his coat."—After some excellent songs, and catches and glees, and a number of jovial, constitutional, and patriotic toasts, the company separated in the utmost harmony and good humour.

CORRESPONDENCE OF MR. COBBETT, MR. PAULL,
AND MR. SHERIDAN.

[*As published by Mr. Sheridan's Committee.*]

Mr. P. Moore to Mr. Sheridan.

SIR;

Thursday, Nov. 13.

It is the unanimous opinion of the committee, that, in justice to yourself, to the great cause you are engaged in, and the honourable conduct of your friends, emulating yours, the papers submitted to their consideration, and your letter to me, should be forthwith made public, together with Mr. Finnerty's Statement, and the Resolutions which the committee have come to in consequence. As you have left this matter to our discretion, I have accordingly directed the whole to be published. I have the honour to be, &c.

PETER MOORE.

Mr. Sheridan to Mr. P. Moore.

SIR;

Somerset-place, Thursday, Nov. 13.

In compliance with your request, I send you Mr. Cobbett's letters, and leave it to you and the committee to decide whether they should be published or not. I have never suffered Mr. Cobbett's first letter to me to pass from my desk; nor should I now consent to the publication of any letter, not avowedly meant to be published by the writer,

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but that you will perceive that Mr. Cobbett himself calls for its publication; how discreetly for the cause he supports, is his affair. I need not tell you how decidedly I have disdained to allow this letter, or that from Mr. Paull to Mr. Finnerty, and by him placed in my hands, to be used for the purpose of gaining me a single vote from the supporters of Mr. Paull. What their object was, and what advantage I might have made of it, had I been base enough to have stooped to profit by their advances, is too evident to require a comment. My conduct has been without disguise or reserve. It is known to you, sir, and to the committee, and to you and them I leave the vindication of it. I have the honour to be, &c.

R. B. SHERIDAN.

Mr. Cobbett to Mr. Sheridan.

SIR; No. 5, Panton-square, Tuesday Evening.

To be direct and frank has always been my course, and I think it right to lose not a moment in informing you, that upon hearing that lord Percy had declined, that a Pittite was to be set up in his stead, and that Mr. Paull meant to offer himself, I immediately set off for town, to lend this latter gentleman all the assistance in my power, however trifling that may be; and, as the main object of this letter, I think it right to inform you, that I am well assured that Mr. PAULL does not mean to be considered as opposed to you,

and

and that, if there be any hostility shewn between you, the fault will not be his or that of his friends. I am, sir, &c.

W. COBBETT.

Mr. Peter Finnerty's Statement.

DEAR SIR ;

November 13, 1806.

I answer your letter, just received, with unqualified truth and sincerity, but with the promptness and brevity which the pressure of time, according to your requisition, requires.—From the strong assurances I made to you and others, immediately after Mr. Paull offered himself as Candidate for Westminster, relative to the disposition of that gentleman towards Mr. Sheridan, I feel myself bound in vindication of my own character for veracity, to communicate to you very fully, the grounds upon which those assurances rested.—After the present dissolution was declared, and Mr. Paull's address published, I received a letter from that gentleman, requesting my assistance in his favour. I answered, that I was entirely devoted, from principle, and personal regard, to Mr. Sheridan; and also expressed my opinion, that he was undertaking a contest without any chance of success. To this communication I received the following answer from Mr. Paull :

“ DEAR SIR :

“ Tuesday Morning.

“ I am not opposing Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Cobbett is at my house, and we want merely to

2 B 2

“ speak

“ speak to you, without attempting, what would
“ be both improper, and useless, to weaken, in
“ any shape, your attachment to Mr. Sheridan.
“ We differ, however, with you totally about
“ our success. I am really and sincerely yours,

“ To Mr. Finnerty.”

“JAMES PAULL.”

On communicating this to Mr. Sheridan, he shewed me Mr. Cobbett's letter to him. I requested him to leave it in my hands, or to give me a copy of it, and to allow me to shew it, with Mr. Paull's letter to me, to Mr. Paull's friends; being confident that the result would have been to obtain the second votes of Mr. Paull's party for Mr. Sheridan, my first object being, I avow it, the securing Mr. Sheridan's Election; and, as an old friend of sir F. Burdett's, having myself no objection to Mr. Paull. Mr. Sheridan peremptorily refused this, and said he would not allow either letter to be used as a canvass in his favour among Mr. Paull's friends. He thought it would be a dishonourable proceeding on his part towards sir S. Hood, with whose cause he had allied himself, and for whom he had requested, and should continue to request, his friends to canvass equally as for himself. This passed on the Sunday evening previous to the day of nomination, and the next day, at the earnest request of Mr. Sheridan, I set off with his Solicitor, and the chairman of his principal committee, major Downs, for Stafford, to assist in the contest in which Mr. Sheridan had just heard his son was unexpectedly engaged.

gaged. After this statement, you will judge of my surprise on hearing, on my return to town, that Mr. Paull was the decided opponent and active censor of Mr. Sheridan.—But Mr. Paull's letter was not the only reason why I relied on that gentleman's preference of Mr. Sheridan. Upon the evening of the day on which I received Mr. Paull's letter, I met that gentleman and Mr. Cobbett, at the Chronicle Office, and they both expressed to me their decided disinclination by any means to oppose the views of Mr. Sheridan. "But," said Mr. Cobbett, "what have we to do with the Commodore? Why should he be imposed upon us? What claim has he upon the Electors of Westminster?"—Still more, Mr. Paull told me, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, that he was SORRY to hear Mr. Sheridan abused by some of those men among whom he canvassed.—With these circumstances in my recollection, you cannot wonder at the surprise which your letter excited in my mind. I am, &c.

To P. Moore, Esq.

PETER FINNERTY.

Mr. Cobbett to Mr. Sheridan.

SIR;

Charles-street, Nov. 12, 1806.

Having seen in the Morning Chronicle of this day, (see p. 128), a paragraph purporting to be the report of a speech made by you at Willis's Rooms, last night, in which paragraph it is stated, that an offer was made by me to you "to give you
Mr.

Mr. Paull's second votes, if you would stand neutral;" and knowing, as I do, that this statement is grossly and scandalously false, I cannot, of course, believe that you made it—but must regard it as a trick of the candid and independent Mr. Perry. As this statement may, however, be believed by the very few readers which the Morning Chronicle has left, I request you to deny the statement through the channel of that print, or, which will have the same effect, to publish my letter, upon which the statement is said to be founded. I can have no doubt of your complying with this request; but should you not do it, justice to Mr. Paull, and to the cause of the free and independent Electors of Westminster, striving against the oppressive influence of coalesced factions, will compel me to treat you as the author of the falsehood. With a very sincere wish that I may not be thus compelled, I remain, sir, &c.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

Mr. Sheridan to Mr. Cobbett.

SIR;

Somerset-place, Wednesday
Evening, 9 o'clock.

The bustle of an Election day, and occupations fitter for me to attend to than any communication from you, have prevented my noticing the letter you have honoured me with till this moment. I am very much amused by the folly of it, and very little provoked by its insolence. I shall not, however, be deficient in gentlemanly respect

respect to the call of any man; and you will receive from me to-morrow, such an answer as I shall judge proper to give to such a letter. I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

R. B. SHERIDAN.

Resolutions of Mr. Sheridan's Committee.

Committee at the Shakspeare, Nov. 14, 1806.

Resolved unanimously: That it is manifest that Mr. Paull and his friends did make, previous to the commencement of the Election, the most palpable efforts to induce Mr. Sheridan to admit of their alliance to his cause:—That it is within the knowledge of all the most active members of this committee, that Mr. Sheridan did steadily refuse to solicit or encourage any such support—constantly exhorting all his friends to canvass for sir Samuel Hood, equally as for himself:—That Mr. Sheridan's conduct, throughout has been marked by the highest and nicest sense of honour, and has been such, in every respect, as to entitle him to the confidence, support and admiration of every man who values adherence to good faith and integrity in a public man.

Mr.

Mr. Cobbett's Strictures on the Conduct of Mr. Sheridan, with respect to the above Correspondence.

At one of Mr. Sheridan's public dinners, that gentleman made, if it was truly stated in the Morning Chronicle, (see p. 128,) an assertion respecting an offer made by me, in Mr. Paull's name, to give Mr. Sheridan Mr. Paull's second votes, provided he (Mr. S.) would remain neutral with respect to Mr. Paull; than which an assertion more completely destitute of truth never was made. The speech, as reported in the Morning Chronicle of the 13th instant, was as follows: "Mr. Sheridan informed
" the meeting that he should, to-morrow or Thurs-
" day, publish an offer by Mr. Paull and Mr.
" Cobbett to him, if he would stand neuter, that
" he should have all Mr. Paull's second votes.
" This he had rejected with scorn; but the object
" evidently was to give them an opportunity of
" blackening both Candidates, and of taking his
" run against that one which might latterly be
" furthest behind."—I never was more surprized in my life than when I first saw this paragraph; no such offer having ever been made, or thought of, by me. There was a letter, indeed, from me to Mr. Sheridan, written the moment I came to town, on Sunday the 26th ultimo, and which was the only letter I had ever written to him; but, in this letter, no such proposition was made, nor any thing of the kind implied. The
case

case was this ; a common friend of Mr. Sheridan and myself, had, about ten days before, written to me at Botley, telling me, that the parliament was just about to be dissolved ; informing me that Mr. Sheridan was to stand for Westminster ; and, expressing a hope, that no animadversions of mine would tend to prevent his success. The answer which I instantly gave to this letter was, that I was afraid that he far over-rated the force of my animadversions, but that, if it was in my power to prevent Mr. Sheridan's success, I certainly would prevent it. Nevertheless, when I came to town, not being sure that this answer had been communicated to Mr. Sheridan, and supposing it possible that he might have been informed of the application made to me by our friend, and might, in consequence, expect not to see me amongst his opponents, I thought it right to lose not a moment in apprizing him of my intentions ; and, with the knowledge of Mr. Paull, I wrote him a letter, of which I kept no copy, but which was to the following effect :——“ Sir, as it is a rule with me always to be
 “ fair and direct, I lose no time in informing you,
 “ that I am this moment come to town for the
 “ express purpose of rendering Mr. Paull, as a
 “ Candidate for Westminster, all the aid which it
 “ is in my feeble power to render him. But, at
 “ the same time, I can take upon me to assure
 “ you, that I know, that if there should be du-
 “ ring the contest, any hostility between you and
 “ Mr. Paull, the fault will be that of you, or your
 “ friends.”

“ friends.” This last sentence was written at the suggestion of a third gentleman present, who had expressed a wish, that no foul personalities should take place.—With this statement before him, the reader will, I am sure, participate with me in the feelings excited by the speech ascribed to Mr. Sheridan. But, this is not all. Mr. Sheridan is represented as having said, that “ he rejected the “ offer with scorn.” Luckily, I have a copy of his answer to my letter ; which answer was in the following words :—“ Monday evening, 8 o’clock.—“ Sir, on my return to town this evening, I received your note, which gave me the first intimation “ of Mr. Paull’s intention to stand for Westminster. I admit your motives in making the “ communication to be as frank and direct as “ you profess them to be, and I thank you for “ your attention in having made it.”—Now, if this was what he looked upon as a “ rejection” of our “ offer,” as he is said to have called it, the reader will, I think, agree, that this was not a very “ scornful” rejection. But, the truth is, that he looked upon it as no offer at all. I was satisfied, that he could not ; and, therefore, the moment I saw the report of his speech in the Morning Chronicle before mentioned, I wrote him the following letter : [Here follows the letter which will be found in p. 189.] To this letter, I received at midnight the following answer from Mr. Sheridan :—“ Sir ; The bustle of an Election “ day, and occupations fitter for me to attend to, “ than to any communication from you, have prevented

“vented my noticing the letter you have favoured
“me with, till this moment. I am very much
“amused by the folly of it, and very little provo-
“ked by its insolence. I shall not, however, be
“deficient in gentlemanly respect to the call of
“any man, and you will receive from me *to-morrow*
“such an answer as I shall judge proper to give
“to such a letter:—I have the honour to be,”
&c.—The “morrow” came; but, it brought no
answer from Mr. Sheridan, either written or in
print, though it was now Thursday, the latest day
fixed on, in his speech, for publishing the letter on
which the reported statement was said to be found-
ed. When, therefore, he ventured to shew him-
self upon the Hustings in the evening of that day,
and as soon as the hisses and groans, which his pre-
sence had drawn forth from the people, were a
little subsided, I went up to him, and in the
presence of Mr. Berkeley Craven and others,
narrated in substance what I have here submit-
ted to the reader, concluding with these words:
“Now, sir, let me beg of you to give me a
“direct answer, whether you did, or did not, make
“the assertion which the Morning Chronicle has
“ascribed to you?” His answer was, I am really
sorry to say it, a miserable subterfuge; a procrastin-
ating evasion; nay, a downright shuffle.—“I
will not,” said he, “have an answer extorted from
“me. I will not be catechised. I will not
“make myself responsible for any thing published
“in a newspaper as a speech of mine.” In short,
all I could get from him was, that “an answer
2 c 2 should

should appear in print to-morrow;" that is, to-day. "But the "morrow" is again come; and now it is Friday night; and no answer has appeared, though in all the daily prints, a paragraph has been published, intimating, that the answer will appear "to-morrow!" That is, when he knows that the Register is gone to the press, and when I shall, for another week, be deprived of the means of contradicting any statement that he may think proper to make; because, he well knows, that, while the daily prints are all open to him cost-free, they are all shut against me, except at an enormous expence; Mr. Perry of the Morning Chronicle, having charged Mr. Paull no less than eight guineas for his last advertisement! Does there, then, require any thing further as an exposure of Mr. Sheridan? Yes: one fact more; and that is this; that he made, on the day of his coalition with sir S. Hood; on that very day he made, through Mr. Rodwell, one of the principal persons of his Committee, a proposal to Mr. Paull to give him (Mr. Sheridan) his second votes, as the certain means of throwing out sir Samuel Hood! This fact I, at the time before-mentioned, reminded Mr. Sheridan of, to his face, upon the Hustings; and the only answer he could give was, "I am not responsible for any thing that Mr. Rodwell has done." Much, however, as I dislike Mr. Sheridan as a member for Westminster, my dislike to the Commodore has always been, and still is greater. This latter I regard as a mere ministerial

rial creature. I disliked him on that account from the first; and the seeing of his wounded arm projected out to the people, while his great coat is studiously turned back to expose his star and tawdry ribbons, has by no means tended to lessen that dislike. Constantly, therefore, have I said, and I still say, that of the two, give me the man of talents, who is able, and may, possibly, become willing, to render the country some service in parliament. Besides, ill as Mr. Sheridan has behaved of late, and now towards myself, I have seen him receive, in the loud and unanimous reproaches of the people, a punishment far beyond the measure of any revenge that my heart is capable of entertaining.

Friday, Nov. 14.

The offer, which Mr. Sheridan asserted to have been made by me, previous to the Election, for Mr. Paull to split votes with Mr. Sheridan, has been proved never to have been made. After Mr. Sheridan knew that my Register was gone to the press, he published in the Morning Chronicle, my first letter, (see p. 186.) and which letter he had before said implied a proposition to split votes with him; a proposition which, he further said, he rejected with scorn. The reader was convinced of the falsehood of this by Mr. Sheridan's answer to me, (see p. 194.); and, to give him an idea of Mr. Sheridan's candour, I need only say, that he took special care *not to publish* this his letter,

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in the Morning Chronicle ! In addition to my letter, Mr. Sheridan published a note from Mr. Paull to Mr. Finnerty ; which letter, together with the substance of a short conversation between Mr. Finnerty, Mr. Paull, and myself, Mr. Sheridan *extracted* from Mr. Finnerty, in the first instance, without avowing any intention to publish them ! And yet, it is the partisans of a man like this, who have the impudence to accuse others of a breach of private confidence ! By all these pitiful acts Mr. Sheridan has, however, gained nothing. The town was astonished, not at his falsehood, but at his folly, when, from his own publication, it was clearly proved that no offer of splitting votes had ever been made to him.—I mentioned, (see p. 196.) that Mr. Rodwell on the part of Mr. Sheridan, had made such an offer to Mr. Paull. The answer, which, by me, in behalf of Mr. Paull, was given to Mr. Rodwell, I have now obtained ; and it was as follows : “ Sir ; Mr. Paull being engaged in matters previously before him, he requested me to say, in answer to your letter, signifying a wish on your part, that he would couple himself with Mr. Sheridan, that he has, from the beginning, publicly as well as privately, declared that he was not, and would not be connected with either of the other Candidates ; a declaration, which, for your satisfaction, he begs me now to repeat.” Now, reader, observe, that Mr. Rodwell showed this letter to Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Peter Moore, the chairman of his Committee ;

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and, they have taken special care *not to publish it*; nay, to give another instance of the blessings of the liberty of the daily press, Mr. Rodwell sent the letter for publication in the Morning Chronicle; but, upon a shuffling pretext that the editor (Mr. Spankie) was not to be seen, it was kept out of that paper!

Friday, Nov. 22.

W. COBBETT.

TWELFTH DAY.

Saturday, November 15.

Immediately after the books were taken away,

Mr. P. MOORE came forward and addressed the Electors. He said that he was induced, at a very early period of the contest, in common charity to the little satellite who opposed Mr. Sheridan, to exhort him to desist from a pursuit in which he might be assured of ultimate failure, and in the prosecution of which he could not hope to gain any credit. But what was the conduct of Mr. Paull? Why, that instead of feeling any gratitude towards him for his salutary counsels, he had been uniformly desperate in his harangues against him, ever since sir F. Burdett had gone to Middlesex, never ceasing to mock those predictions which this little gentleman and his Gallican partisans now found to be true. He had repeatedly told these gentlemen that he would put an extinguisher upon Mr. Paull, and he had been absent from the Hustings only because he was actively engaged in canvassing, with a view to carry his promise into execution. He had foretold the downfall and disgrace of Mr. Paull, even when he was 600 a-head of his illustrious friend; and what was now the fact? Why, that the friends of real liberty, talent, and public spirit, had placed Mr. Sheridan on the poll no less than 200 above Mr. Paull's good and bad votes put together. Therefore the continuance of exertion

exertion on the part of Mr. Sheridan's friends was alone necessary completely to ensure his success. The hon. gentleman congratulated the Electors, that the Middlesex flambeau was nearly extinguished, and that the Westminster rush-light was quite gone out. He congratulated Westminster, that there was no danger of its being disgraced by a Representative, who was capable only of speaking Billingsgate, and disposed only to support French principles. He concluded with exhorting the friends of Mr. Sheridan to persevere in their activity until they compelled the little satellite to depart from the Hustings with his allies, the mob, with whom alone he was fit to associate.

The state of the Poll was then declared, viz.

Sir. S. Hood 4957

Mr. Sheridan 4222

Mr. Paull 4021

Mr. WHITBREAD stated to the Electors, that Mr. Sheridan was 201 a-head of his opponent upon the whole poll, but exhorted the friends of Mr. Sheridan not, on that account, to relax their exertions in his favour, but to persevere with increased activity to the last moment.

Mr. SHERIDAN now came, and spoke nearly as follows:—" Gentlemen, I congratulate you heartily on the triumph of the day; but my next word must be, to intreat you, for your own honour, and the honour of the great cause you have espoused, not to relax one atom in your exertions, until the same zeal and spirit which have so bravely recovered the ground we lost at first, have placed me securely upon that eminence on which you so anxiously

wish to fix me, partly from your partiality to me, but much more from your devotion to the Constitution of your Country. Gentlemen, before I proceed further in my thanks to you, I must thank those, who, in my estimation, have, even before you, a preferable claim to my gratitude; I mean the patriotic Females of every description throughout the City of Westminster; for I do seriously believe, that there is not a single woman, at least not one good-looking one, who is not on my side, and for the gallant Commodore, so much so, that I really pity and feel for the unfortunate Gentlemen on my left, on account of the jobations and curtain-lectures they are sure to receive when they get home to-night. Gentlemen, if I were to notice all the lies against me which impudence and malice have put forth, and folly and credulity have taken up in the course of this Election, I should only waste my own breath, and insult your attention. Among those wretched expedients, the first and loudest cry was, that at a moment when my present bitterest opponents assert, that I might have been chosen by the unanimous suffrages of you all, I deserted your cause, betrayed your interests, and turned you over, by some unworthy compromise, to Earl Percy. Where a prejudice and cry is once raised, there is no use in struggling against it with the ignorant, but I appeal to men of understanding—I appeal to Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Hewling themselves, now active in Mr. Paull's committee; but my warm friends on the 18th of September, whether they are not now convinced, that this charge, upon which so much clamour has been

been founded, was a foul and impudent calumny; I ask them, whether they do not know that, at this moment I have to regret that I am not honoured by the Noble Duke's support, though undoubtedly Mr. Paull has it not, and I am confident his Grace would regard it as a gross libel to insinuate that Mr. Paull had even presumed to ask it? The next lie I have to notice, is a pretended meeting of Printers, declaring in favour of Mr. Paull:—this is a very ludicrous forgery—the press declare against me! No, Gentlemen, there is not, there cannot be a man, from the highest to the lowest, desiring the liberty of the press, or employed in its various occupations, that is not my friend. Throughout this contest, I have received from the editors of our diurnal publications, the most ardent and generous support. I know they do not ask or expect my thanks; for their support was given to me on just and disinterested principles; it is given as that which is due to a man who never in his life omitted a single occasion to prove himself the decided and resolute defender of the Liberty of the Press; aye, Gentlemen, even of its licentiousness, rather than its restraint. This leads me to say a word or two respecting a Gentleman present, who has in speech and writing taken a very liberal allowance of both—I mean Mr. Cobbett. I have not read it; but I take it for granted that I am plentifully abused in this day's Register:—he is very welcome to do so—he may abuse me and my friends, and the Government I support, and any Government that may succeed; and the Parliament I hope to

sit in, and every succeeding Parliament; my only retort or revenge shall be, that I will continue my efforts that he may do so with impunity. I will continue my efforts that there never shall reign in this land any detestable tyrant, who, as in the case of Palm, of Nuremberg, shall put him to death for daring to publish his opinion. Before I quit Mr. Cobbett, I will frankly say, that though there is much in his notions which I abhor, there is something in his character which I respect. I detest and abominate his endeavour to establish that stupid and profligate proposition, that such men as you, whom I am now addressing, would be relieved from burthens, and be bettered in your conditions, by a violation of the public faith to the public creditor. The fancy is equally dishonest and nonsensical. I doubt Mr. Cobbett's being serious on this subject; but, what I respect in him is this; he has, by his own unassisted talents and energy, raised himself from a very humble condition to a situation of respect, reception, and property; and he has the manliness and good sense not to be ashamed to avow the fact; that situation which he has gained, that rank, that reception, and property, there is not one among you who have it not in your power to gain, if you are young, or for your sons, if you have passed the days of vigorous exertion. If this statement of mine be true, as I perceive, by your applause, you all feel it to be, then allow me to turn from you for a moment to ask Mr. Cobbett, Is this, or is it not a condition of society worth defending? Yes, I say worth defending by every

man who has sense to comprehend the blessings of our Constitution, and spirit to defend it. From Mr. Cobbett I pass to Mr. Paull. I know very little of him, but I am told he is a very irritable person, and very scurrilous. This is foolish; he had better keep his temper, because he will have occasion for it. Sincerely, I never listen to the things people endeavour to tell me he has said against me on the Hustings: I know he has the highest respect for me. He has pledged himself to this in terms of extravagant panegyric, in his address to you previous to lord Percy's election. He means no real harm by what he says; he has been told that every thing is fair at an election, and he is disposed to profit very lavishly by the admission; again I say he is welcome to do so. He could not be opposed to an adversary more inclined to make every allowance for him. I have myself met him more than once, at dinner, in *gentlemen's* society.—I see you stare, gentlemen, and seem astonished, but I assure you it is a fact; no objection have I to its happening again; and then, probably, will Mr. Paull tell me how far from any ill-will to me he had acted; how great was the regard and high opinion he entertained of me; and then, for the first time on the subject of the election, shall I be sure that Mr. Paull thinks what he says. I conclude, gentlemen, earnestly recommending to you that course of peaceable and orderly demeanour which I have never ceased to inculcate. We have shewn that no ruffian insolence could dismay us in the hour of seeming adversity; let us now

prove

prove that our moderation shall increase with our success. And now, gentlemen, I take my leave of you, most gratefully acknowledging the attention you have honoured me with. But the same attention, I hope, you will bestow on Mr. Paull. It is said, his speeches are very long; but, as I am told there are those who remain to hear him, I presume they are both instructive and entertaining; I therefore request you to remain and listen to him, only excuse my being of the party."

Sir S. HOOD—"Gentlemen, I repeat my gratitude to those Electors who have taken such an interest in my behalf, against a Candidate who professes himself the confidant of sir F. Burdett; and whose intention is to turn out those whom he denominates Pittites. I am neither a Foxite nor a Pittite; I have taken no share in Politics; I have always been a lover of my Country, and I have no doubt but you will always find me act for its benefit. I cannot doubt but that it was Mr. Paull's wish to have opposed me solely, if he had been joined by my friend, who at present goes hand in hand cordially with me in this contest.—I have to thank you for your exertions, and I trust you will yet give me a greater majority over the adherent of sir F. Burdett; and I wish you all a very good night."

Mr. PAULL next presented himself, amidst the acclamations of the people; and said: "On the 12th night of the most glorious contest that ever a free man was engaged in, I present myself to the Electors of Westminster, more sure and confident of success than ever I was at any period of this Election,

tion. You have heard the loquacious harangue of the Treasurer of the Navy, and you have heard the attempt of the gallant Admiral. I have no doubt that the latter of these gentlemen will be fully competent to represent you in Parliament, by saying *yes* or *no* in the House of Commons; but as for his abilities to stand up for your Rights and Liberties, you yourselves may now have an opportunity of judging. On the 12th night of the contest, which has been carried on by the combined influence of Ministers and their adherents, supported by the money taken out of the Treasury, you find me standing here, having 170 votes above the situation in which Mr. Fox stood on the ever-memorable contest. We have heard to-night the shouts of our enemies. It is right that they should shout now, for I can tell them, and I can tell Mr. Whitbread, who hears me, that their triumph will be very short, and the impostures practised by the Whigs of England, for the last ten days, will be soon exposed. In the end I shall bring up a most triumphant majority of free and independent Electors. If I were in Mr. Whitbread's situation, I should be ashamed of appearing upon the Hustings of Covent-Garden, to say that he had gained any thing like a triumph. Is it a triumph to say, that Court Candidates, that Ministers, or even Mr. Whitbread himself, should have had influence enough to acquire a small temporary superiority, over a man who has nothing but his own spirit of independence to support him? Can there be any triumph, when you see that man have no less than 4021 votes of the free Electors? So far from shouting for such a triumph.

triumph, I say, that these Court Candidates and their friends should put on sackcloth and ashes, although they have been supported by the purses of the Nobility of England. It is painful to me, in the extreme, to allude any more to that sunk, degraded, that apostate character, the Treasurer of the Navy; but I must repeat to you, that he first attempted to coalesce with me. I hold evidence of it in my hand; evidence of what was tendered to me in the most humble manner by Mr. Sheridan. It was a coalition, however, which I scorned accepting, as I knew that he had sold the City of Westminster to the Court. I'll never accuse Mr. Whitbread of uttering a sentiment which he does not believe to be true. I know that gentleman to be incapable of a falsehood, or conniving at one; but, at the same time, I cannot help saying, that I lament to see him standing up in support of one who is so lost to honour, one who has lost sight of every thing but his own interest. [*Loud applauses.*] This Treasurer of the Navy is so degraded as to utter falsehoods the most gross, that I am astonished he has the assurance to appear at Covent-Garden. Mr Sheridan asserted, at Willis's Rooms, that I had made a proposition for a coalition. In this he resorted to a falsehood, for I never wrote to him but once, and that was relative to the charges against the marquis Wellesley. He has had the audacity to present to the public, a private note, which I had written to a person of the name of Finnerty; wishing him to be employed as one of my inspectors, believing him to be an honest man. That note had not the smallest allusion to coalition.

coalition. I never asked a vote from Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Sheridan has said, he has seen me in genteel company, and that he has no doubt but that he'll see me in such company again, and that I will make an apology—I have no apology to make to that degraded character, that unfortunate Manager of Drury-Lane; for I understand, that he has not yet ceased to direct and conduct Pantomimes. On last Sunday night, gentlemen, (can you believe it?) this Court Candidate set all the actors of Drury-Lane to work, to prepare a Pantomime, which was to be acted in the front of the Hustings, on the Monday following; but afterwards, becoming ashamed to shew his face, it was postponed to some future occasion. All that he, Mr. Whitbread, or any of the aristocracy have been able to say against me is, that I am the son of a tradesman! Gentlemen, I glory more in being the son of an honest and industrious tradesman, than I would do to be son of any strolling player that ever existed, even though living in a palace, fitted out for him by the Minister of Great Britain, and furnished out to him at the expence of the people. I would rather quit existence altogether, than live in the ways that he does, or come up as a Court Candidate, supported by such means. [*Shouts of applause.*] I certainly did not expect to see Mr. Peter Moore, that place-hunter, any more upon these Hustings. He, I know, has got a promise of a situation of 10,000*l.* a year. [Mr. Whitbread here denied this assertion.] Gentlemen, this fact has been denied, but I can tell you, that I have seen

a letter from one of the Ministers, promising that gentleman a situation of 10,000*l.* a year. With respect to Mr. Whitbread, I still hope that the reports which are circulated are entirely unfounded. I should be very sorry, indeed, sunk as he already is, to see that gentleman go to the Hospital of Incurables. I hope that the day will come, when he will yet advocate the cause of the people of England against any coalition that may be formed to destroy the Liberties of our country. All the peerages in this world will only degrade him; they cannot raise him in the opinion of the people. [*Loud marks of approbation.*] Gentlemen, I'll now say a few words to account for the majority which has been obtained by the Treasurer of the Navy. I hold in my hand a note, not a private one, such as that I wrote to Mr. Finnerty"—Here

Mr. FINNERTY stepped forward and cautioned Mr. Paull to beware of saying any thing disrespectful to his character. As to the publication of the letter alluded to, it was the act of Mr. Sheridan's Committee. But even were it his own act, was it for Mr. Paull to become his accuser, who had betrayed and published the private confidential conversation of the Prince of Wales, while what he (Mr. F.) had communicated to Mr. Moore, partook, not in the least, of the nature or character of a private conversation; for it was nothing more than what Mr. Paull and Mr. Cobbett had stated to numbers, and which they had professed an anxiety or wish to make known? [*Applauses and hisses, and clamours from Mr. Paull's*

Paull's friends :—" Let Mr. Paull finish, and you may go on afterwards!"]

Mr. PAULL, at length, with great difficulty, procured a temporary silence—" I hold in my hand," continued he, " a note from the hon. Mr. Coventry, stating, that the Keeper of the King's Bench was commanded to liberate every person from that prison, who could be brought up to vote against me. But this is not all; after the impeachment of lord Melville, Mr Whitbread was not to be found in the House of Commons to support a most important bill, brought forward by lord Holland. It was the bill for the liberation of Insolvent Debtors, and, when none of the Ministers were found to do their duty, it fell to me to conduct that bill, which gave liberty to 7000 people. When these gentlemen were not found at their posts, I was found in my place, to act for the unfortunate people. And what have they done in return? Why, gentlemen, they did refuse to come this day to vote against the man who advocated their rights. I shall only say, that I have not one single doubt as to the issue of this contest. There are upwards of 2000 independent Electors of Westminster, who have not yet voted. I do not say that I may not be deceived, but if I look to the support which I have already procured, I should be belying the honest hearts of the Independent Electors of Westminster, if I did not believe the pledges and promises they have given me. I have, gentlemen, the promise of 500 individuals that will not come up at call; and I have upwards of

800 honest and industrious tradesmen, who, notwithstanding the threats of these Court Candidates, and notwithstanding the loss of the custom of those who are connected with Carleton House, and supplying the aristocracy, have given me their pledges, that, as honest men, they will come and support me on Monday. I believe the last efforts of this coalition have been made to-day; and, I believe, that on Monday, I shall have an infinitely larger majority over the Treasurer of the Navy, than he now has over me. But if, unfortunately, for the want of numbers, I should not ultimately succeed in this contest, it will be made known, that I have procured more fair and independent votes, than both of the Candidates put together, notwithstanding the subscription of Mr. Whitbread and others, whose assistance has been implored against me. I trust that Mr. Whitbread will have the honour and honesty to come and make an apology to the people of England. Notwithstanding the assertion of the Member for Coventry, who has again made his appearance before you, I will be found here to the last hour of the contest. After the Poll Books have closed, the contest itself shall not close. I hope that my zeal and perseverance (which, I trust, are not inferior to those of Mr. Whitbread) will prevent those scandalous scenes of fraud and dishonesty from being ultimately successful in deciding this question. I do aver that I never gave a single promise or a single bribe to induce any Elector to come forward to support me: but I can state to you,
that

that I have affidavits to produce, to prove scenes of perjury, the most infamous, on behalf of the other candidates. Those scenes will all be exposed to the indignation of the people of England : and if Mr. Whitbread can then come forward to shew his face, as he once did, I shall believe, that human nature is more unblushing, and more degraded, than I thought it was."

Mr. FINNERTY then addressed the meeting.— He stated, that immediately after his receipt of Mr. Paull's letter, and his conversation with him and Mr. Cobbett, he mentioned generally to Mr. Sheridan's friends that Mr. Paull was friendly to him; in consequence of which, several gave their second votes to Mr. Paull, on the first days of the Election, who would have revolted at the idea of doing so, had they supposed him hostile to the interests of Mr. Sheridan. Upon his return, therefore, from Stafford, he (Mr. F.) found that many of these voters complained of having been misled by his sanguine assurances as to Mr. Paull's disposition, and some even expressed a doubt as to the possibility of Mr. Paull having made the declaration contained in the letter alluded to. These complaints were frequently made to the Committee and repeated to himself. Under such circumstances, he appealed to any candid man whether, in his own vindication, he was not justified in transmitting to Mr. Moore the statement which had appeared in the papers, (see p. 187,) and requesting him to shew it for his justification. The declaration, however, of Mr. Paull's friendly disposition towards Mr. Sheridan,

Sheridan, was not only communicated to him, but to many others. For, Mr. Paull's friends, in the course of their canvass, made it a rule almost general, wherever they found a prepossession in favour of Mr. Sheridan, to profess a similar sentiment, in order to obtain the second votes; while, on the contrary, wherever calumny was afloat, or prejudice prevailed against Mr. Sheridan, they concurred in the calumny, and endeavoured to inflame the prejudice, disclaiming, at the same time, just as it suited the party to whom they applied, any degree of hostility to sir Samuel Hood—[Name, name, exclaimed Mr. Gibbons and others, the persons who have done so. "I name you, Gibbons," said a gentleman from the Hustings.] I could name many, said Mr. Finnerty.—Such then, continued he, is the game of trick and duplicity which the friends of Mr. Paull have been playing, notwithstanding the reprobation of inconsistency, and the lofty professions of purity which you daily hear repeated from these Hustings. [*Hisses and laughter.*]

MR. SHERIDAN AND THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

The Friends of the Duke of Northumberland will, it is hoped, to a man, come forward in favour of Mr. Paull; in order more effectually to defeat Mr. Sheridan, who (in addition to his other wicked deeds) has, upon the Hustings of Covent-Garden, uttered the most false and malicious expressions against that virtuous and patriotic Nobleman, whom

he there called a *wretched old cripple*, and a *do-tard*,—in revenge for the letter, written by the Duke, to the several vestries of the City of Westminster,—in which letter his Grace distinctly stated, that rather than allow Earl Percy to be contaminated, by standing for Westminster with “the abandoned profligate,” he would sooner choose to withdraw his connections from that great City.

FLAGITIOUS FALSEHOOD.

Mr. Sheridan's Letter to Mr. Morris, Agent to the Duke of Northumberland.

SIR;

Somerset-Place, Sunday Evening,
Nov. 16.

The impudent libel posted about the town this day, accusing me of having uttered on the Hustings yesterday, the most foul and illiberal abuse of the Duke of Northumberland, and charging his Grace with having previously, by circular letters, done the same towards me, is really such a wretched expedient of despairing profligacy, that I can scarcely bring myself to condescend to notice it. There must have been, at least, a thousand auditors who heard every word I said yesterday on the Hustings, and who know that I did not then speak, as I never have in any other place, or any other occasion, spoken one disrespectful word of the Duke of Northumberland. I was happy to have it corroborated from you to-day, that the assertion of the Duke having sent round

round such letters to the vestries as are described in this atrocious libel, or of his Grace's friends having for a moment thought of supporting Mr. Paull, was an audacious falsehood. I find your communication supported by the testimony of the respectable persons to whom you referred me, and whose averments, as far as time may allow, will, I understand, be published to-morrow; but really it is painful to be called on to answer such trash, or to approach to any degree of collision with the cowardly miscreants who deal in it.

I am, Sir, &c.

R. B. SHERIDAN.

SIR;

Spring-Garden Coffee-House,
Nov. 16, 1806.

In answer to your communication, by Mr. Alexander Johnston, we beg leave to declare, that no kind of influence has been made use of, either directly, or indirectly, by the Duke of Northumberland, or any person in his name, in *this* parish, on the part of Mr. Paull; nor did we ever hear of any letter being sent to the vestry, as is mentioned in the bills posted about the streets last night: nor is it possible such a letter could have been received, without our knowledge.

We have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

RICHARD BIRNIE, Chairman of
Sir Samuel Hood's Committee.

JOHN STATON, Churchwarden.

Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan.

*Letter from Mr. Rodwell to Peter Moore, Esq.
Chairman of Mr. Sheridan's Committee.*

SIR;

Leicester Square, Nov. 16, 1806.

In answer to your letter just received, I am, in the first place, to inform you, that, instead of being one of the principal persons of Mr. Sheridan's Committee, (see p. 196.) I do not, and have not attended it at all; nor have I had the slightest intercourse with Mr. Sheridan on this business, except once, at the Crown and Anchor, on the 18th Sept. and last Sunday, in a public room, at the Piazza Coffee-house. Mr. S. never made, through me, any proposal of any sort, to any person concerned in the Election. I avow, that my wish was, as an independent individual Elector of Westminster, to have polled for Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Paull; and had I had any intercourse whatever with Mr. Sheridan, I should have taken the liberty, in a fair and manly way, to express to him the opinion I have before professed; but I was prevented from attempting any communication with him, by the advice of a gentleman, who is really one of the principal persons of his committee; I mean Mr. Burgess, Mr. Sheridan's solicitor, and who assured me, that Mr. S. would not listen to such proposition. I afterwards voted singly for Mr. S. The letter I wrote to Mr. Paull, was not on the day of Mr. Sheridan's declared union with sir S. Hood, but on the evening of the Sunday preceding the day of nomination. I have since explained

plained to Mr. Cobbett his mistake on the subject; and he has promised to correct it in his next number. I now conclude, with observing, that I do not feel myself called upon to make the least apology for the part I have taken, previous to the correspondence and communication with Mr. Paull, justifying my writing to him in the manner I did; and as an elector of independent mind and spirit, I had a right to act for, and to judge whom I would prefer to be the colleague of Mr. Sheridan. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

T. RODWELL.

S O N G.

Tune—*Hearts of Oak.*

1.

Ye Freemen of Westminster, firmly unite
In defence of your Liberty, Franchise, and Right;
HOOD's canvas has often been spread for our good,
In return, let us now spread our canvass for HOOD.

Heart of Oak is his Ship,

Hearts of Oak are his Men;

He always is ready,

Steady, boys, steady;

The hero shall conquer again and again.

2.

He recently triumph'd, defending our Laws;
Now gratitude bids us contend in his cause:
HOOD shed in our service his life's dearest blood;
Now, Britons, be bold in the service of HOOD.

Heart of Oak, &c.

3.

Accurst be the scoundrels who sought to defame,
 And, envying his glory, would tarnish his name ;
 That name far renown'd o'er old Ocean's wide flood,
 That name we revere : then huzza, boys, for Hood.

Heart of Oak, &c.

4.

Down, down with the wretches who dare to revile
 The comrade of Nelson—a hero of Nile !
 Let SHERIDAN only, the Patriot who stood
 The fast friend of our Fleets, be the colleague of HOOD.

Heart of Oak, &c.

MR. PAULL AND THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

*Letter from Mr. Paull to the Editor of the
 Morning Chronicle.*

SIR ;—A great deal has been said by my opponents in and out of Parliament of my ingratitude to lord Wellesley, and this censure has been pronounced on me, in consequence of a letter written by me to his lordship, in the year 1802. Extracts from this letter of the most partial nature, have been given to the public ; in justice to myself, therefore, and that the nation may be acquainted with the real nature of the transaction, I send you the letter, with the answer to it, and shall shortly state the circumstances under which it was written, leaving you and your readers to form your own conclusions from it. They were printed by order of the House of Commons, and have

been in the hands of all the members.—When I quitted Lucknow in 1801, where I had resided 12 years, the Nabob of Oude was in possession of the whole of his territories. On my return to India, in 1802, having, previously to my leaving England, obtained permission from the Court of Directors to repair again to Lucknow, I found the Nabob's country in the possession of the Company. With the usurpations and means which had been practised to obtain this possession, I was wholly unacquainted, as was I with the other acts of aggression and oppression committed by lord W. in that country. From personal pique the Nabob of Oude wished me not to return; this will sufficiently shew, that my connection with that Prince was as imaginary as that now imputed to me with the emperor Napoleon and his 500,000 mercenaries. I demanded of lord Wellesley to be sent thither, and as an act of justice this was granted me. Finding that great obstructions were put in the way of my commercial pursuits, in the ceded territories, I, a few days afterwards, addressed this celebrated letter to lord W.; and, fresh with the recollection of what had been recently done by him, I, who am not totally devoid of feelings of sensibility, made use of the expression in the latter part of my letter, which has been urged against me as an inconsistency with my future conduct. I leave the world to judge how far it is inconsistent, and to say whether an act of justice in my commercial engagements should prevent my afterwards

wards becoming the accuser of a person whom I regarded as one of the greatest delinquents which perhaps ever existed in this or any other country. —I am, sir, &c.

Nov. 16, 1806.

JAMES PAULL.

Copy of a Letter from the Persian Secretary to the Governor General, dated 17th Sept. 1802, to the Vizier, relative to Mr. Paull.

I have had the honour to receive your Excellency's letter (recapitulate his Excellency's letter on the subject of Mr. Paull.)—Agreeably to your Excellency's desire, I have communicated the contents of that letter to his Excellency the most noble the Governor General, who has directed me to state to your Excellency in reply, that previously to the receipt of your Excellency's letter, his lordship had been induced by the information which he received of the regularity and propriety of Mr. Paull's conduct during his former residence at Lucknow, to grant him permission to return to that station, for the purpose of prosecuting his mercantile concerns; his Excellency was further induced to grant that permission by the consideration that those concerns are calculated to benefit your Excellency's country, by encouraging industry and by promoting the interests of commerce within your Excellency's dominions. — Under these circumstances his lordship confidently trusts that your Excellency will be disposed to permit Mr. Paull to remain at Lucknow, unless any
acts

acts of misconduct on the part of Mr. Paull, of which his Excellency is not apprized, should appear to your Excellency to merit that destruction to Mr. Paull's just and equitable prospects, which must be the consequence of his being prohibited from remaining at Lucknow in the prosecution of the beneficial objects of commerce,

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Paull to the Marquis Wellesley, K. P. Governor General, &c. Dated Lucknow, Dec. 5th, 1802.

MY LORD;—Although incessantly engaged in the affairs of a most mighty empire, I am, however, well aware that the concerns of an humble individual are not beneath your Excellency's notice.—I have, my lord, for many years carried on extensive concerns in Oude, and for the ensuing twelve months I reckon my exports from the Vizier's country will be at least fifteen lacks of rupees.—On re-commencing my business, after a short absence in Europe, I find myself, however, reluctantly under the necessity of representing to the notice of your Excellency, a very vexatious and truly grievous hardship in the present mode of collecting the Company's Duties at their custom-houses within the provinces.—By an express article of the commercial treaty, which I understand from the Vizier's government is still in force, the Nabob's Rowannah is therein laid down as the rule for the Company's custom-masters to levy the duties on exports from Oude: I am aware at the
same

same time, that in July last, government in its wisdom passed a regulation, which however has never been promulgated, empowering the custom-masters to alter the old and to substitute a new mode of valuation. To this regulation it is my duty to yield submission; and it is the mode only of carrying the government regulations into execution of which I presume to complain to your Excellency.—Notwithstanding that I accompany my dispatches with the actual and bonâ fide prices of my exports: to these the custom-masters will pay no attention: they stop the boats, unpack as many bales as they choose; they carry a number of pieces of cloth from the boats to a distance, and affix an exact and arbitrary undefined rate: in a word, my lord, it is left to the wisdom or caprice of their native servants to affix what duty they choose upon articles on which government have defined no express rate of duty for their guidance.—The hardship alone, my lord, of unpacking bales at three different custom-houses (and they are subject to it at Juanpore, Ghauzipore, and Patna) which are carefully made up in unfavourable weather, or, indeed, in any weather, is of itself a most serious evil: but the consequent delays that must inevitably attend the new system, and the heavy arbitrary undefined valuation put upon property, (and moreover, my lord, one transaction forms no guide for me to go by, to prevent recurrences of these evils, for each valuation of the same sort of goods differs from another) are drawbacks and impediments that no commerce can thrive under,
and

and I humbly presume to say, totally incompatible with that excessive wise, liberal, and enlightened policy, that marks every act of the administration of your Excellency.—Permit me, my lord, with diffidence, to suggest that it would prove very beneficial to government, and would remedy at the same time the hardships of which I complain, were the duties in some manner defined: and at all events, those on goods intended for Calcutta, collected at the first government custom-house at which the Oude exports apply for clearance. To this mode I believe no objection could be offered, whilst the present system is open to unanswerable ones; the reason for establishing custom-houses at Juanpore, Benares, Ghauzipore, and Patna, is sufficiently obvious; it was to prevent the passing of goods by the Ganges, Gograh, or Goomtie, without paying the regulated duties; but there seems to be no substantial reason for levying a duty of 5 per cent. at separate custom-houses; and as the two custom-masters pay no attention to the valuation of each other, the rate of duties is no longer 5 per cent. The custom-masters by this mode get a dividend, and sometimes a higher commission, but government is not benefited, and the public greatly injured.—I trust the great interest I have at stake, will plead my pardon for this address to your Excellency, to whom I with confidence leave my case, trusting if the provisions of the treaty are no longer in force, that some system will be adopted to render unnecessary the unpacking of goods. The consequent

sequent delays at the custom-houses, and the arbitrary, heavy, and capricious valuation of a native appraiser, are grievances that I am persuaded only require representation to ensure redress from your Excellency, to whom no man ever complained in vain, that complained with justice. With an indelible sense of past obligations, with great consideration, and the highest respect, I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES PAULL.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

Monday, November 17.

At the close of the Poll, the numbers were as follow:—

Sir Samuel Hood 5178

Mr. Sheridan 4441

Mr. Paull 4226

On the close of the Poll, Mr. Sheridan announced a message to his friend, *the broad-faced orator*, who was at some distance in the crowd, that a number of respectable Electors who had attended the Hustings during the Election, had signed a letter to him, offering to petition the magistrates, in order to have the licence of Mr. Berridge (*the broad-faced orator*, who keeps a public-house in Swallow-street,) taken away, in consequence of his conduct during the Election; but that he (Mr. Sheridan) had decidedly resisted the proposal: And he desired that Mr. Berridge might entertain no apprehension on that head, as he would guarantee to him the renewal of his licence.—On the numbers being announced,

MR. SHERIDAN addressed the multitude--“Gentlemen, I am glad to see you all in such good humour --[*clamours*]—Gentlemen, it is your privilege to be as clamorous as you choose, and God forbid that I should wish to trench upon that *valuable* immunity! —Gentlemen, I have kept my word with you in shewing a triumphant majority at the close of
this

this day's Poll. Mr. Paull promised, two days ago, that he would poll 800 votes before the closing the books this evening, but I find he is *minus* 600 of the number; a strong proof upon what kind of foundation his reliance rests for ultimate success. In addition to the other scurrilities and falsehoods which Mr. Paull and his partisans have propagated against me, another stupid and impudent lie has been circulated this day, charging me with publicly uttering upon these Hustings expressions of resentment and disrespect to the duke of Northumberland, to whom it was before alledged, that I had betrayed and sold the Independence of Westminster. But I utterly deny any such expressions as those imputed to me, respecting that noble personage; and I arraign the imputation as a base calumny. No man who knows me can suppose me capable of such language towards any man, still less to that venerable personage. But my opponent and his partisans have nothing to support their cause, but lies, treachery, and cowardice. The same good humour in which I began this contest, I shall preserve to its termination; nor am I to be deterred by all the clamours and slanders raised against me. I may have many political enemies, and many private ones amongst you; but their abuse and maltreatment of myself I despise. I cannot, however, forgive the base and wanton system of abuse and insult offered to the person of my gallant colleague, sir S. Hood, whose public character and valiant exploits in his Country's

service, one would think, could not fail of obtaining him respect, even amongst the enemies of his nation. But there he stands in your view, with his right arm amputated, and those wounds scarcely cicatrized which he received in your defence, burning with ardour again to risk his life, and again to shed his blood in your cause; yet, to your reproach as Englishmen, these considerations have not screened him from slander and insult. I blush for those who, in the heat of party, could so far forget what they owe to that valiant officer; but their conduct towards him is amongst the basest characteristics of the cause they espouse."

Sir S. HOOD congratulated the Electors on the result of that coalition which had been so much the subject of abuse, but which had effected a signal triumph to the security of the Constitution.

Mr. PAULL next addressed the Electors. It had been, he said, confidently asserted by his opponents, that Saturday last was to extinguish his hopes; and, with them, of course, the Liberties and the Independence of the City of Westminster. But Saturday had passed away, and still the liberty of Westminster was not extinguished. This day, too, had passed away, and those Liberties still existed; and the triumph of the enemy was as short of completion as ever. The gallant Admiral had talked this day of the triumph arising to the Court, from the coalition which he had formed with the Treasurer of the Navy, over the independence of the people. But he would ask,
did

did the court itself consider it as a triumph? Did the Treasurer of the Navy, or his friend, Mr. Whitbread, really consider it a triumph? Was it such in the estimation of lord Grenville? or at Carleton-house, or with the whigs, or the tories, or the aristocracy, or with any or all of the parties coalesced on this occasion to support the Court Candidates against the rights and privileges of the people of Westminster? He was convinced none of them held the result of this day's poll in such a light, towards his antagonist. Whatever the issue of this battle might be, he had a right to feel proud in the reflection, that the illustrious man, now no more, (Mr. Fox,) had not been able, with all his resources, consequence, and connections, to poll more on the 13th day of the poll, than he had done, nor so much; for he had this day been favoured with the votes of not less than 200 independent men. He exhorted the people to persevere in the same spirit. He exhorted them for their own sakes; for, if he failed in this contest, they would be the sufferers. The coalesced ministry finding, by the progress he had already made, that the people, at least such as were capable of freedom, were against them, would, they might depend upon it, take measures to extinguish the voice of the people altogether. The hon. gent. asked Mr. Whitbread, whether his Whig friends had any reason to exult in the progress which their advocate had made on the poll? He would pledge himself to shew that this degraded man had not, exclusive of Tory aid and the benefit

benefit derived from the fraud and imposition of sir S. Hood, polled altogether 1300 votes. Indeed he had no doubt in being able to establish the proposition, that if this apostate had stood alone, he could not have mustered 1000 votes. In addition to the other combinations which had been brought against him in the course of this election, he observed that there was one, whose interference excited his astonishment. Indeed it was impossible that any man who had just reverence for the clerical character, could contemplate this interference without reprobation, particularly when it was known that such interference was not confined to mere application and request to the Electors, but was extended to command and menace. He could declare positively, that the dean of Westminster had, no later than Saturday last, issued his orders to all the electors subject to his influence or authority, to come here and vote for the Court Candidates, under the threat of his displeasure. He maintained that there was something in the prosecution of this contest which betrayed a secret that was not unlikely to upset the ministry itself. For the manner in which the majority in favour of the Court Candidates had been obtained would, when made known, most probably bring to light a secret that would be completely fatal to their character and power.—The hon. gent. took occasion to notice another falsehood from the Treasurer of the Navy. This degraded man had stated that no letters had been sent by the duke of Northumberland, stating to the several vestries

vestries where he had influence, that he would not suffer his son, lord Percy, to stand with such a colleague; but he (Mr. P.) could assert the contrary, and he could particularly cite the letters addressed to the parishes of St. John's and St. Margaret's. Mr. Whitbread continues to aid the cause, although he knows of this fact. [Mr. Whitbread exclaimed, "That is not true, sir—I do not know of it. I have heard it asserted and contradicted, and that's all I know of it"] Mr. Paull resumed, and asserted, that there was a gentleman then standing by him, who had heard Mr. Sheridan abuse the duke of Northumberland. The hon. gent. advised the Electors not to elect a man who would sell them, who was deeply in debt. He concluded with an exhortation to the Electors to be active, and victory was still easily attainable, as there were still above 1500 voters unpolled, from whom he or his friends had obtained promises.

*Mr. Paull's Dinner at the Crown and Anchor,
on Monday November 17.*

About 300 of the friends of Mr. Paull met at the Crown and Anchor tavern, this day, where an elegant and sumptuous dinner was provided. Major Cartwright took the chair.

After dinner, MAJOR CARTWRIGHT gave the following toast:—

“THE KING, THE LORDS, AND THE COMMONS.—

“May they mutually unite and co-operate in the

“adoption of all those measures that may be ne-

“cessary

“ necessary for the restoration of the happiness and
 “ character, and for the preservation of the Inde-
 “ pendence of the Country, in spite of the ma-
 “ chinations and the force of all its enemies, do-
 “ mestic, as well as foreign !”

This toast was received with the utmost applause. Major Cartwright again rose, and said—“ Before I give the next toast, I beg leave to express my happiness in finding, there are upwards of 4000 free and independent Electors of Westminster, who are capable of reading their Bibles, and who are thereby convinced that a man cannot serve two masters. I shall now, gentlemen, give you—

“ THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS
 “ OF WESTMINSTER.—May the noble struggle
 “ which they are now making against the combi-
 “ ned power of official threats, of corruption, of
 “ bribery, of undue influence, of every sort,
 “ serve as a practical example to Electors in ge-
 “ neral ; and may it speedily lead to a perfect re-
 “ storation of the Constitution, with respect to
 “ the Representation of the People in the Com-
 “ mons House of Parliament !”

This was received with loud and reiterated plaudits.

“ The next toast,” continued major Cartwright,
 “ which I shall give you, is one which I am sure
 you will drink with enthusiasm ; but it is a mat-
 ter of conscience with me, not to give the gen-
 tleman’s health to whom I allude, till I put a plain
 and simple question to him ; I desire to know
 from Mr. Paull, whether he himself is a friend to
 the

the cause of Parliamentary Reform? Without this acknowledgement, I will not propose his health."

Mr. PAULL, in answer to this question, stated his determined resolution to support such a reform, upon which he was convinced the salvation of the Country depended.

The Chairman then gave—

"Mr. PAULL—Thanks to him for having given us an opportunity of exercising our franchises, and of demonstrating our indignation at the proscription pronounced by a minister against an upright member of parliament!"—This toast was given with three times three, accompanied with loud huzzas.

Mr. PAULL, after thanking the meeting, adverted to the obloquy that had been thrown upon him and his friends by the Treasurer of the Navy. "It had been objected to him, that he was not a man of high birth; and that his supporters, for the most part, were not of high birth: He had seen that those who possessed ribbons and stars might be bought, but he trusted that none who now heard him could either be bought or sold. He had risen by his own merits, which was more than they could say. He and sir F. Burdett were the real friends of the King; and he adverted to the instance of James II., who was soon abandoned by all the pensioners and placemen, in the moment of trial. If he had been an enemy to the King and Constitution, he expressed his conviction that major Cartwright would have been

the last man to have taken the chair. His great object, and that of sir F. Burdett, had been, and was, to make the Constitution in practice, what it was in theory, which, at present, it was not. He exhorted his friends to perseverance, as their efforts ought not to relax while there was a chance of preserving the Independence of Westminster. As to Mr. Sheridan, he would say little of him. The apostacy of this abandoned man had, in the loss of the confidence and attachment of the people, experienced that punishment which it deserved." Mr. Paull concluded, with returning thanks, and proposing the health of sir F. Burdett. This toast was then announced from the chair, in the following words:—

"SIR FRANCIS BURDETT—The man of unblemished virtue, private as well as public, the sincere and disinterested friend of both King and People, and the decided enemy of hypocritical loyalists, and place-hunting patriots!"

The chairman, after a short interval, announced, that, by a letter which had been just received, he learnt that it was impossible for sir F. Burdett to be present that evening, and therefore he begged leave to return thanks for the cordial and energetic manner in which his health had been drunk. At the same time, he begged leave to make some remarks on the calumnies which had been thrown out against him, as if he was the enemy to his King and Country. He knew his sentiments to be the same as his own, and that he objected to those principles which would destroy the Liberties
of

of the Country ; but was its sincere friend upon constitutional principles.— (*Applause*). If sir F. Burdett deserved the odium of his country, for what he had said upon that subject, he (major C.) deserved it in a tenfold degree. He had, for 24 years, been endeavouring to inculcate the principles of defence, according to constitutional principles. He had reprobated the systems which ministers had brought forward ; because he had seen, that the destruction of the Liberties of the country was intended. (*Loud shouts of approbation.*) He had equally reprobated those systems which had been suggested by Mr. Dundas, by Mr. Yorke, and Mr. Windham. On the first occasion of Mr. Dundas's system being circulated, he attended a public meeting in the county of Lincoln, where the magistrates were bringing forward measures to enforce its execution. He opposed it as unconstitutional, and moved, “that every person should provide himself with arms and ammunition, in the mean time ; and that there should be a committee appointed to examine into the statute law of the land, to see how a force of free men in arms ought to be organised, and under what laws they ought to act.” He had no person to second his motion at that meeting, but as soon as he retired, he wrote to Birmingham for a chest of arms to defend himself and family. (*Shouts of bravo !*) He had not done these things in secret ; he not only stated his opposition before the magistrates, but did it through the medium of the press. He advocated that system which the Con-

stitution allows, and which is the grandest system of defence that ever was produced by human invention. With respect to sir F. Burdett, he knew that he perfectly agreed with those sentiments, as he had received from him his cordial thanks for what he did, and therefore he was convinced there was not a man more friendly to his country.—After the applauses which ensued had subsided, major Cartwright proposed the following toast :

“ THE INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDERS OF
“ MIDDLESEX.—May they never forget that 100
“ mercenaries in the House of Commons, are more
“ dangerous to their Country than 500,000 mer-
“ cenaries, with the Emperor Napoleon at their
“ head !”

The next toast proposed was—

“ THE NAVAL AND MILITARY DEFENDERS
“ OF OUR COUNTRY.—May they be made to
“ participate in all those rights which will render
“ public Liberty as dear to them as their military
“ fame : and may their deeds in arms prove here-
“ after, as they have hitherto, that we stand in no
“ need of the introduction of foreign troops ; an
“ introduction so strictly forbidden by those
“ laws which were bought with the best blood of
“ our forefathers !”

Major CARTWRIGHT next proposed the health of Mr. Cobbett, which was received with unanimous bursts of applause.

Mr. COBBETT said, he should have done no more than merely thank the company for the honour they had done him, had it not been for two facts

facts which he was in possession of, and which it would be important for them to know. The first related to the denial of Mr. Sheridan, that he had called the duke of Northumberland, "an old cripple and a dotard." Mr. C. said, he had not heard him say so himself, but he had it from Mr. Powell, a person of veracity, to whom Mr. Sheridan had addressed himself, and made use of the expressions adverted to. The other fact was relative to the alledged circular letter of the duke of Northumberland. The fact was, that the duke of Northumberland had sent a circular letter to the vestries of St. Margaret and St. John, and this he had from Mr. Stephenson, a solicitor, who had some concern in the business of one of these parishes. This gentleman had read to him a minute which he had taken of the letter. Owing to the person who had it, not being at home, he had not seen the letter itself, but the substance of it was, "that the duke of Northumberland had no objection to his son's being the colleague of any man of fair character, whatever his rank or circumstances might be, but that he could not allow him to degrade himself by being the colleague of such a man as the Treasurer of the Navy." He hoped that this would be fairly stated in the public papers, and he would pledge himself to prove it to be true. Mr. Cobbett then adverted to the observations of Mr. Denis O'Brien, in the Morning Post, relative to the most marvellous discovery which that gentleman had made of sir Francis Burdett's principles. (See p. 367.) This gen-

tleman thought, that not only Westminster, but the whole universe, were mightily concerned in his opinions. He had discovered a most astonishing secret relative to sir Francis Burdett, which was, "that without the assistance of the fanaticism which was Cromwell's ladder—without any military pretensions—and unaided by any thing like the moral influence of Buonaparté's unparalleled renown;—that sir Francis Burdett, in the full belief of his soul, aimed at equal supremacy with both." (*Loud and long-continued laughter.*) Yet this Mr. O'Brien long after he had made this notable discovery, had spoken of sir F. Burdett to him (Mr. Cobbett) in terms of the most unqualified approbation, both as loyal to his king and faithful to the constitution of his country. Something else therefore must have induced Mr. O'Brien to publish his discovery to the world now, than a love of truth. He professed considerable respect for Mr. O'Brien notwithstanding this piece of simplicity, because while other whigs were harassing Mr. Fox to death for places and pensions, Mr. O'Brien kept aloof and disdained such contemptible conduct. As to the juvenile nobility, whom Mr. Sheridan had collected about him, none would envy him their support. It was better to be low in birth and high in character than high in birth and low in character. [*Loud bursts of applause.*] Mr. Sheridan had paid him some compliments at the Hustings, but he scorned any praise from such a character.—The meeting separated at an early hour.

PETER MOORE'S CHARACTER OF

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT IN THE YEAR 1804.

To the Free and Independent Electors of Westminster.

GENTLEMEN; Mr. Peter Moore has presumed to offer himself several times to your notice, and, with an effrontery which has no parallel, has dared to libel and calumniate that excellent Character and firm Friend to his King and Country, Sir Francis Burdett.—Out of his own mouth let Peter Moore be judged.—Gentlemen, You will scarcely believe, and yet it is nevertheless true, that the following is an extract from the speech of this same place-hunting Peter Moore, no longer ago than on the 23d of July 1804, from the Hustings, at Brentford :

“ At the last Election, I was scarcely acquainted
“ with Sir F. Burdett; the support I gave him
“ then, arose entirely from an approbation of his
“ public conduct; but since that time I have had
“ the means of learning his private character, and
“ I take upon myself to say, that a man more ex-
“ emplary in all the relations and duties of life,
“ never existed in any country at any time;—he
“ is pure from every stain;—he was a good son;
“ he is a most affectionate husband and father;—
“ a most valuable friend;—a most exemplary
“ member of society;—and all these virtues of
“ private life he carries into his public conduct;
“ with the warmest patriotism and the most con-
“ stitutional

“stitutional zeal for the rights of Englishmen,
“he possesses the most dutiful affection and loyal-
“ty to our beloved King. I speak from the bot-
“tom of my heart, and if the Sheriffs will admi-
“nister the oath, I will swear to the truth of
“what I say. I do not know in this world a
“purer or more unblemished character, or a man
“of more public and private worth than Sir F. Bur-
“dett. *If he has a single fault*, it is that in the
“generosity of a sanguine mind, he expects
“to find more virtue than belongs to these deprav-
“ed times, and through that virtue to obtain all
“the happiness for his fellow-subjects that the
“principles of our free government are calculated
“in themselves to confer; but in the ardour of
“this expectation, I do not know of a single act
“of his life that detracts from his reputation, or
“ought to lower him in the esteem of any good or
“candid man. I have served with Sir F. Burdett
“in Parliament, and I have observed his conduct
“there; he never gave a vote but for the consti-
“tution; for peace, for morals, and for the hap-
“piness of the human race.”

Gentlemen, after this Eulogy, which no Man
better deserves than Sir Francis Burdett, you
will be able to judge what *Credit* is due to this
Peter Moore——

Alas! POOF PETER MOORE!!!

MR. PAULL'S UNCLE.*Mr. Simon Fraser's Letter to Mr. Paull.*

SIR; I should be the last person in the world to press on you any matter of a private nature, in a public contest; but, when I see the basest and falsest arts resorted to, to represent Mr. Sheridan and his friends, as persons who have insulted a very respectable class of men—I mean the “Master Tailors” and journeymen, of the City of Westminster, I demand of you to come forward and contradict, if you dare, one word of the facts I am now, by question, putting to you.—First, have you not, at this moment, an own Uncle working on the board of that most respectable tradesman, Mr. Lambert, of Suffolk-Street, Charing Cross? Secondly, has not Mr. Lambert, and his Clerk addressed to you several letters, since your arrival from India, with a supposed large fortune, informing you, that your Uncle, being aged, and growing almost blind, was retained in his service from motives of charity, and must starve if he dismissed him? Did you ever notice or answer one of these letters, until the day before the present Election? when you inclosed a Guinea for him; and, canvassing Mr. Lambert to poll for you, you promised to attend to your Uncle's situation after the Election should be over. Is what I have now stated, fact or not? If you venture to deny any part of it, and any one person whatever is so credulous

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dulous as to believe you, I refer you and them for the proof of the veracity of every word of my statement, to Mr. Lambert himself, and to those most respectable characters, Mr. Tooling, of Great Marlborough-Street, and J. Birnie, Esq. of Oxendon-Street, who have each of them had this statement from Mr. Lambert himself, and have seen your Uncle in the situation I have described. Answer this, if it is in your power; or deny a word of it, if you can. *You know me well, and I know you.*

SIMON FRASER, of Perth.

Mr. Paull's Answer.

Charles-Street, St. James's Square, 18th Nov. 1806.

Sir; In your Paper of this Morning, there is an article, in the form of a letter, and bearing the signature of "Simon Fraser, of Perth." This letter states, that I have, at this moment, an *own Uncle*, working upon the shop-board of Mr. Lambert, of Suffolk-Street, Charing-Cross; that Mr. Lambert and his Clerk have made several applications to me to afford the poor old man pecuniary aid; and that, until the day before the Election, when I went to canvass Mr. Lambert, I never took any notice of these applications; but that I then sent my unfortunate Uncle a guinea!—Now, Sir, in answer to this, I have to state, 1st, That I know not who Mr. Fraser is; 2dly, That Mr. Lambert has this moment, authorised me to declare, in his name, that I never had any communication with him, directly, or indirectly, until this morning.

when

when I called upon him for a disavowal of the statement of the pretended Simon Fraser; 3dly, That the whole of the above statement, under the name of Fraser, is a tissue of gross falsehoods, except as far as it may relate to an application made to me by a Clerk, in behalf of a pretended relation of mine whom he chose to name *Adams*; 4th, That, though convinced of the falsehood of the fact upon which this application was founded, I caused an enquiry to be made, and finding the application to have been dictated by pure fraud, I concluded it to have originated, as Mr. Fraser's letter, doubtless, has, with the Leader of the band of *Forty Thieves*; and, accordingly, I treated it, as I now do the letter, with the contempt they so well deserve; in which contempt, I am persuaded, Sir, that you and your readers will heartily concur. Relying upon your justice for the publication of this letter, in a conspicuous part of the very next number of your Paper,

I remain, Sir, &c.

JAMES PAULL.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND'S LETTER.

Mr. Simon Stephenson to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR; I conceive it necessary to state, that the observation of Mr. Cobbett, at a dinner of Mr. Paull's friends, at the Crown and Anchor, on the 17th inst., as reported in your Paper, (see p. 237,) asserting, that a Circular Letter of the Duke of
Nor-

Northumberland, reflecting upon the character of the TREASURER of the NAVY, was sent to the Vestries of St. Margaret and St. John, is not true; nor was Mr. Cobbett so informed by me. The fact is, that a communication was made to Mr. Cobbett, *at a confidential meeting*, on the subject of a *private letter* from his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, in which, however, the *Treasurer of the Navy* was not mentioned.—I must confess I am very much surprised that Mr. Cobbett should occasion the public notice of a matter spoken of in perfect confidence, arising from the circumstances of the then ensuing Election.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

SIMON STEPHENSON.

Great Queen-Street, Westminster, Nov. 18, 1805.

Mr. Cobbett's Statement of Facts, relative to the Duke of Northumberland's Letter.

The public have seen a letter published in the news-papers, and signed by Mr. Sheridan (see p. 215.), in which letter he denies, 1st, that he ever uttered, upon the Hustings, any words disrespectful towards the Duke of Northumberland; and 2dly, that the Duke ever wrote, to any of the Electors of Westminster, any letter expressive of dislike to him, Mr. Sheridan. The facts are these, 1st. that Mr. Stephenson, the vestry clerk of the parish of St. Margaret, read to me, before the Election began, minutes, which he had made in his pocket-book, of the contents of a letter from the Duke of Northumberland

thumberland to some leading man in the parish, who, agreeably to the wishes of the Duke, had communicated the contents of the letter to the Churchwardens and Overseers, and to others of his friends in the parish; which contents, as read to me, in substance, were, that the Duke was highly offended that the ministers could find no other man than Mr. Sheridan to be the colleague of Earl Percy; that he could not bring himself to consent to his son's standing with such a man as Mr. Sheridan; and that, as he, the Duke, did not like to declare open hostility against the ministers, he would not, upon this occasion, suffer his son to stand at all. The 2d fact is, that Mr. Sheridan, being told of this upon the Hustings, in answer to a most insolent remark made by him respecting the low characters of Mr. Paul's supporters, said, in addressing himself to Mr. Powell, that, if the Duke of Northumberland were not *an old cripple and a dotard*, he would chastise him for his letter; and, to the truth of this statement, Mr. Powell, who is Mr. Paul's solicitor, and is well known to be a gentleman of undoubted veracity and honour, has authorised me to say, that he is, if required, ready to make oath.—The Letter of the Duke of Northumberland, the terms of which I have *greatly softened*, is now in the possession of Mr. Harrison, a linen-draper of Bridge-Street, Westminster; it was carefully read by Mr. Porter, of Parliament-Street, who has assured me that the contents are what I have described them; and, as Mr. Stephenson appeared to wish to shuffle out of his

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his statement to me, Mr. Clarke, of Dartmouth-Street, who was present when Mr. Stephenson read his minutes, came to the Crown and Anchor, on the 19th instant, and there publicly declared, that the statement before made by me (exactly similar to that above made) was perfectly correct; and, moreover, that Mr. Stephenson had authorised me to make any use that I pleased of the information he had given me.—But, as the public have already a hundred times asked, *why does not Mr. Sheridan get the letter of the Duke published?* If it contains nothing disadvantageous to him, why not let the public see it? He knows better; and his friends participate in his prudence. Mr. Stephenson, who, at the time when he read me his notes, had no idea that the ministers would step forth to support Mr. Sheridan, has now shuffled, and most contemptibly shuffled. But let Mr. Stephenson *publish his minutes*, then! Those minutes contain expressions, beyond all measure, more *harsh* than are contained in my account of them; and Mr. Stephenson well knows that I have kept far within the limits of truth.—In fact, Mr. Sheridan himself must be well acquainted with the contents of the Duke's letter; he is boiling with rage at those contents; but, though, in the heat of reply, he gave way to this rage upon the Hustings, he, upon reflection, feels how dangerous it is for him to attempt to resent any thing coming from a supporter of the ministry. This he feels, too, is only a *little beginning*; a mere foretaste of that which is to come.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, PLACEMENT,
PENSIONS.

THE IMPARTIAL OPINION OF WILLIAM COBBETT,
ON THE "PRESS," "PLACES,"
AND "PENSIONS."

[*From the Morning Chronicle.*]

"I never was factious, I never appealed to the
"Mob; never to the ignorance and discontent,
"but to the sense and loyalty of my readers."—
Vide Cobbett's Register, vol. I. page 542.

"We have before declared it, as our decided
"opinion, that the destruction of what is called
"the Liberty of the Press, would be a good act,
"by whomsoever it might be performed."—Cobbett's Register, vol. II. page 281.

"Far be it from us to rail against Places and
"Pensions! they are the rewards which govern-
"ment bestows, and ought to bestow, on those
"who render services to the nation. Nay, we
"go farther, and allow that it is perfectly pro-
"per not only to entail such rewards on widows
"or children, but for the support of the Aristoc-
"racy of the kingdom to bestow emoluments,
"in certain extraordinary cases, on persons who
"have rendered no services at all to the State!!!
"This is a prerogative which belongs to a king,
"and without which a crown would not be worth
"having. The writer of this article" (William
Cobbett) "has witnessed the fatal effects of a
"niggardly system of œconomy, and is well
"convinced

“ convinced that no part of the public money is,
“ generally speaking, better employed than that
“ which goes to answer the demands of national
“ gratitude, generosity, and munificence.”—Vide
Cobbett’s Register, vol. II. page 55.

Mr. Cobbett’s Reply to the above Attack.

The Morning Chronicle has quoted, from the Register of four years back, a passage wherein I express a wish, that “ *what is called* the liberty of
“ the press, may be annihilated.” But, the candid writer forgot to take in the context, which would have shewn, that I had then been complaining of the same base partiality in the press that I so justly complain of now; that I had been observing upon the pernicious consequences of a press, bought up with the public money, and sending forth falsehoods instead of truths; that I had been complaining of a press which was free only so far as it tended to deceive the people by its misrepresentations, but was completely enslaved as to all other purposes; a press, the main, and, indeed, the only object of whose conductors was, to get places or pensions, or pay, by their publications: such liberty of the press I wished to see destroyed then, and I wish to see it destroyed now; though, while taxes can be collected, this wish will not rise into any thing like expectation.—The daily papers, without a single exception, have been leagued together against Mr. Paull and his cause. There is no species of partiality; of base and scandalous misrepresentation and falsehood, of
which

which they have not been guilty. It has cost him and his friends a hundred pounds to procure publicity to contradictions of the sheer calumnious falsehoods, promulged against them in these venal journals. And, as to the proceedings at the Hustings and elsewhere, relative to the Election, their subaltern hirelings seem to have attended for the purpose of hearing and seeing what was said and done, only that their employers might be enabled to make a representation as near as possible the exact contrary of the truth. They have, as was before observed, all along carefully suppressed the circumstance of Mr. Paull being drawn home every evening by thousands of the people. But, suppression is amongst their trifling sins. When the elder Sheridan has been hissed, hooted and groaned off the Hustings; when he has been cruelly spit upon in his passage to and fro; when even the children in the streets, of six or seven years of age, have, like wicked little rogues, pelted him with orange peel and dirt; after a scene like this, the hireling prints, have, the next morning, represented him as having been received with *rap-turous applause!* So that, were it not for the weekly-newspapers, some of which are conducted with perfect impartiality, it would be impossible for the truth, respecting this election, to find its way to the other parts of the kingdom.—But, there is one particular and marked instance of the partiality of the daily press that I must notice a little in detail.—The public saw Mr. Whitbread's letter to Sir Francis Burdett in *all* the daily papers.

Of the nick of time when that letter was inserted, and of the evident motives of the writer, notice has before been taken. To this letter major Cartwright wrote an excellent answer, [see the end of this volume.] This answer was sent for insertion to every daily paper in London; because one object of it was, to counteract the effects which Mr. Whitbread obviously wished his letter to produce against sir Francis Burdett. At all the papers, except two, it was positively refused admission upon any terms. An obscure print, called the British Press, demanded *ten* guineas for the admission; and the Oracle, after having kept it back several days, did, at last, insert it.—Such is the London Daily Press; and, is there one good man upon the face of the earth; is there one man, who loves truth and fair-dealing, that does not wish to see such a press annihilated? The mischiefs that this press have done to the country, are indescribable. Not only is no man in power afraid of a press which he can at all times bribe; but, such a press is his best ally. The people, taught by this press, seldom have an opinion of their own. They reject the evidence of their senses; and, thus, is the nation led along from calamity to calamity without ever having a true notion as to the cause of those calamities. In short, as the press, in the hands of free and independent men, is one of the greatest of national blessings, so, in the hands of slaves and hirelings, it is the greatest of all national curses.

PAULL PUT OUT.

A NEW SONG.

Tune—LIBERTY HALL.

1.

To keep the game going, I've scribbled a song;
 All fun is afloat when Elections come on;
 Some write against HOOD, some against SHERRY scrawl;
 But I scorn all abuse, so I'll praise JEMMY PAULL.

Fal de ral.

2.

Pray, is it abuseful to tell of his Birth;
 That he sprang from a *Cucumber* planted at Perth?
 He lay snug in a dung-heap, not heard of at all,
 Till a cursed old Monk thought of hatching of PAULL.

3.

HORNE TOOKE a political tinder-box bought,
 And amongst the burnt rags he a Candidate sought;
 With a match came in BURDETT, without fuss at all;
 With a posterior puff he produc'd little PAULL.

4.

A brass Kitchen-candlestick Bosville's hand grac'd,
 They lighted, and into the socket PAULL plac'd;
 But the Coventry member, whom Peter they call,
 With a one-handled vessel extinguish'd poor PAULL.

5.

Now whom would you seat in the Parliament-house;
 A brave man, a wise man, or one not worth a louse?
 One who to the living's of no use at all,
 For there's none but the dead that have use for a *Pall*!

6.

Let our canvass be stout, as our motives are good;
 For SHERIDAN canvass as well as for HOOD:
 Leave no stone unturn'd 'gainst the little Save-all,
 Excepting Old Nick, who's a *Pumper* for Paull.

Fal de ral.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

Tuesday, November 18.

At the close of the Poll the numbers were, for

Sir Samuel Hood 5362

Mr. Sheridan 4642

Mr. Paull 4365

MR. SHERIDAN stated, that he was, on the whole Poll, no less than 277 above his opponent, and that on this day's Poll he was a-head 62. "It gives me great pleasure, said the right hon. gent., to find that you are growing every day more and more in good humour; and I can easily account for it—as you have every day been more and more pleased at my success. Gentlemen, a few days ago the aspect of my affairs was rather different. I address myself particularly to Mr. Berridge (the *broad-faced* orator), because he seems to have a disposition liberally to attend to those who are entitled to be heard. He will remember that Mr. Paull said, at another stage of the Poll, that he would not press on a falling man. I do not, however, owe much to his politeness; nor am I beholden to his mercy, for I have no occasion for either. If I had, I should have been disappointed, for I understand that the hon. gent. has in no instance manifested either mercy or politeness towards me in the course of the contest. If his power to injure my character had been equal to his disposition to abuse it, I am
sure

sure he would have done me considerable mischief. But his means are as impotent as his charges are groundless. In spite of his once boasted majority, obtained at the outset, by tricks and devices, I have overtaken and passed him—through the aid of those who will, I hope, always be victorious—through the lovers of the Constitution—the lovers of the Country—the lovers of loyalty and good order—but, above all, the lovers of women. [*Applauses and laughter.*] I would not part with the good wishes of such men for the favour and support of all those on my left hand. With regard to the calumnies propagated against me, I really cannot suspect Mr. Paull himself, or any respectable person connected with him, of having any concern in such forgeries as have appeared since the commencement of this Election. If Mr. Paull even knew of the propagation of such slanders and was capable of permitting them, I should, were sir Samuel Hood below me on the poll, feel myself placed in a very unpleasant dilemma; for I do not think that I should feel myself so much mortified by defeat, as I should by the disgrace of becoming the colleague of such a man. I shall leave you, my friends, with a particular recommendation to you to preserve your temper, and not to retort any insults that may be offered. Be resolute, but let your resolution be that of patience and quiet. Let us be, my friends, as invincible in our good humour, as we are in our cause.”

Sir S. HOOD returned thanks to the Electors for the high station to which they had advanced him on the poll, and concluded with the usual exhortation,

tation, that they would use their utmost endeavours to secure the triumph of Mr. Sheridan.

MR. PAULL.—“ Gentlemen, when I first appeared before you, I made a solemn pledge, and notwithstanding the assertions of my enemies, notwithstanding what you have heard from day to day, as to my deserting you, you see me here to-day, and you will see me here to-morrow, till the poll be closed. I shall contest, inch by inch, and foot by foot, with my antagonist, until the High Bailiff shall declare from the Hustings at Covent-Garden, that your Liberties are now extinct. I shall make this solemn pledge, which I shall never depart from but with existence, that after the poll-books are closed, and whether it be determined that I am to represent you in Parliament, or to retire to a private life, I will be found still to persevere in doing my duty, by exposing to public view the infamous frauds and iniquities, next to high treason, which have been practised against you. I call such frauds next to high treason, because they are directly in opposition to the principles of our glorious Constitution. I return Mr. Whitbread thanks for his daily attending me at the Hustings. for I am sure he will yet do me justice, and that he will beg your pardon, at some future period, for the injuries which he has been instrumental in practising against your Liberties. It is a part of the Constitution of this Country, that Peers of the Realm shall never interfere with the Elections of Members of Parliament. I hold in my hand a paper, which will prevent Mr. Sheridan from ever sitting in the House of Commons.

It

It is, I say, a part of our Constitution, that Elections shall be free. So jealous were our forefathers upon this subject, that neither Peers of the Realm, nor Officers of Excise, nor any Persons likely to controul, were permitted to intermeddle with Elections. What will you say, Gentlemen, when you hear that the brother of the Duke of Bedford, a placeman and pensioner, during the pleasure of the Crown,—that Lord William Russell acted as the agent of a Peer, upon this occasion? What will you say, when you learn that his lordship wrote to all the tenants of the Duke of Bedford, who were to vote at this Election, threatening them with expulsion, if they voted against these Court Candidates? Can you believe it, that through the influence of that single Peer of Parliament, instigated, no doubt, by His Majesty's servants, I have lost an infinitely larger number of free and independent suffrages than the Treasurer of the Navy has yet procured? This contest will, no doubt, have a glorious issue. We will shew, at all events, to our Country, whether in or out of Parliament, what are our true principles; principles which, I trust, we will never drop till our dying day. I am very sorry that I cannot now see the Member for Coventry. Mr. Sheridan has said, sarcastically, that he has sometimes seen me in *gentlemen's* company. I have been more than once in Mr. Moore's company, and I am not ashamed to say, that he did inculcate some political principles into my mind. That gentleman, Mr. Moore I say instilled into my mind the most favourable sentiments of my friend

sir

Sir F. Burdett, and that too in public as well as in private company. I hold in my hand a copy of the speech of Mr. Moore, when he nominated Sir F. Burdett as a Candidate for Middlesex, two years ago. He was then proud to say, that he knew Sir Francis's principles to be pure, disinterested, and highly constitutional; in short, that he was the most loyal man in His Majesty's dominions. I know that Mr. Moore is a candidate for place, and is at present pushing Sir Philip Francis, to get a situation in India. This writing must come against him, and demonstrate that he is acting the part of an apostate, when he appears here upon these Hustings to calumniate the man, whose principles he formerly approved.—What has been the conduct of Sir F. Burdett, during the two last years? He has been living, Gentlemen, in a state of obscurity. He has been attending to those studies in which he takes the utmost delight. He has been employing himself at home, in the perusal of the classics, and other ornamental pursuits, in the choice circle of his family and friends. His whole conduct has been the most commendable. Has Sir Francis, then, done any thing to give the smallest pretence for a change in the conduct of Mr. Peter Moore and his *junto*? Has he said or done any thing contrary to his former principles? Gentlemen, whatever were the principles of Sir F. Burdett at the time he was admired by Peter Moore, such are they now, and such, I hope and trust they will ever continue.—As this is the only place where I can be heard, most
of

of the daily papers being shut against me, I must here state, that in one of these papers, the Treasurer of the Navy (for I can only attribute it to him, as I cannot think that sir S. Hood would be guilty of it), caused a letter to be inserted (see p. 241.) as originating with a person of the name of Simon Fraser, making a reference to a person of the name of Lambert. It has been stated, that this Mr. Lambert, of Suffolk-street, wrote me a letter some time ago, in favour of a distressed relation, and that I never attended to it; that I afterwards canvassed that gentleman, and asked him to vote for me; making, at the same time, a pledge, that I would relieve my relation if he did so. This unfounded assertion I can only attribute to the head of the *Forty Thieves*. I never had a communication with Mr. Lambert in my life, nor did I ever see him, till I called on him this day, to enquire if he knew me. He said he did not, and added, that he had seen the base and infamous calumny. The Treasurer of the Navy has stated, with an increase of hardihood, and without any sense of shame, that the duke of Northumberland had never written a circular letter, unfavourable to his interests. I can only repeat, that those letters are ready to be produced. I beg also to notice that in the hearing of this gentleman near me (Mr. Powell) and of several others, the Treasurer of the Navy said (what he has since denied he said), that nothing but the duke of Northumberland's being an old cripple, could have screened him from personal chastisement.

Such is the man who here stands a Candidate. He is branded with every unbecoming act that can render him odious to the people of England:—a man, whose public and private character is such as Mr. Sheridan's, can never become the proper defender of your rights and liberties. His only object is to keep a place for himself and his son, who has been very active, I understand, in his abuse of me in other places, though he has not ventured to do so upon the Hustings of Covent-Garden, knowing well that he could not substantiate the truth of them. Can such a man, then, as the Treasurer of the Navy, be a fit person to represent the people of Westminster in Parliament? [*A cry of no, no.*] Will this man who *must* have his bread, and who, at all events, *cannot* live without his wine, ever revert to an upright conduct, and endeavour to defend your rights, liberties, and independence? No, gentlemen, the thing is impossible—he will rather wish to keep his place. The man who betrayed you, in the first instance, ought not to be entitled to your suffrages. But, gentlemen, he has not had the suffrages of the independent Electors. I believe that sir S. Hood is only nearly upon a par with me in single votes. I do say, that of single votes of the independent and honest Electors, I have a great majority over Mr. Sheridan, if he deduct the amount of placemen, and those who have been brought up by fraud and by fear. He is upwards of 2000 votes behind me this day, in that view of our situation; and yet, under such circumstances,

ces, you see Mr. Whitbread coming here to claim a triumph. With a nominal majority of 270 such illegal votes, he claims a triumph for his friend the Treasurer of the Navy !! If this be a triumph, Heaven prevent me from such triumphs ! If Carleton-house can be satisfied, if the prime minister can be satisfied, that Mr. Sheridan should procure a seat by such infamous means, I wish them much joy of their triumph. I, too, must claim my triumph, when I find that, on the 14th day of the Poll, I have procured the suffrages of 4,000 Electors, not purchased with money nor hypocrisy. If I should be defeated, which I am confident will not be the case, I say that it is impossible for Mr. Sheridan to be returned to the House of Commons. I will to-morrow demand of the bailiff that he be not returned for Westminster. It is for him to judge, after hearing what I shall state, whether or not the poll-books ought to be closed under such circumstances. If I am the last upon the poll, I shall certainly demand a scrutiny. But let me not libel the Electors of Westminster. Let me not suppose for a single moment, that they will allow Mr. Sheridan to stand superior upon the last day of the poll, in preference to a Candidate who stands upon independent suffrages alone. If my friends who have given me positive promises, come forward, I say, that I shall yet put the Treasurer of the Navy in a decided minority. It will yet be seen whether or not Mr. Sheridan has obtained his votes in a proper manner, and it will be for you to say whether

you are yet to exercise your rights as free men, or whether you are to allow the present system of taxation to operate to your destruction? I am far from being against ministers adopting every proper means to defend us from foreign and domestic attacks; but it is impossible, under the present system, for Electors to retain their privileges, or to procure their unbiassed choice. If those of Westminster could have done so, I say, that, on the 14th day of the poll, the Treasurer of the Navy must have sunk, never more to rise. I have yet something very important to state; I am sorry the Treasurer is not here, but his friend below (Mr. Whitbread), will, I doubt not, communicate it to him: In most of the hireling papers of this day, it is said, that I have lost a great many friends. It is mentioned as a proof of it, in some of the papers of this morning, that the Treasurer of the Navy was drawn to Somerset-House by a numerous crowd of friends; but was it mentioned, that the majority of these friends consisted of hired bludgeon-men, headed by Cody the bruiser, and Cribb the boxer? Was it mentioned that Mr. Paull was drawn to his home in Westminster, by 20,000 people, who, acting of their own free will and accord, would admit of no refusal? [*Loud applauses.*] Gentlemen, you will be astonished at a proposition which was made to me this morning, upon the Hustings, by a Mr. Cocker, an eminent solicitor. That gentleman came to express a wish that I would not allow the numbers to be announced tomorrow, on the Hustings of Covent-Garden. He wished

wished me to prevail upon the Bailiff not to declare the state of the poll publicly, when it came to a conclusion. I said to him, No, sir, I have pledged myself to my fellow-citizens, who confide in my integrity, and trust to my standing up for their rights, that I will stand this contest, and rise or fall by the result. I am not afraid of the consequences, be they what they may; and therefore I shall never consent to any such novel procedure. [*Cries of bravo! bravo! from all quarters.*] I say, that this proposition, so degrading to free men, and to the independence of Westminster, was made by a friend of Mr. Sheridan, who has said, that he was now become most popular. Where is that degree of boasted popularity, when we find him afraid to stand the result; when we find him wishing to have the numbers of the poll announced in the Star Chamber? I am certain that Mr. Whitbread will give it to the ear of the Minister, as well as to that of the Right Hon. the Treasurer of the Navy, and also to Lord Howick, that all this has been uttered upon the Hustings of Covent-Garden; but I defy him, or them, to assert that any speech that ever I uttered, or that ever my illustrious friend Sir F. Burdett uttered, can be tortured into any thing like disrespect to the King, the Lords, and Commons, as established by our Constitution. Gentlemen, we are no schemers, we love the King and Constitution, as originally established, and we wish to realise in practice, what it is in theory. I wish Mr. Whitbread to communicate these facts to Ministers, in order that the silence of the public
prints

prints may not prove injurious to the best, the dearest interests to the Throne itself. I wish he may do so, that the Ministry may know that the popular voice is in favour of Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Paull, however much their praise-worthy efforts may be stifled by the infamous and abominably illegal practices of placemen and pensioners.”—Mr. Paull was loudly cheered on the conclusion of this speech, and conveyed home in triumph.

S O N G.

Tune—Four-and-twenty Fiddlers.

1.

Four-and-twenty Ragamuffins all on a row,
 Four-and-twenty Ragamuffins all on a row;
 Come on, I say, clear the way;
 Vote for PAULL, one and all;
 This is the Tailors' holiday,
 Therefore let us be merry.

2.

Four-and-twenty Jacobins all on a row,
 Four-and-twenty Jacobins all on a row;
 France and Freedom,
 Here we'll lead 'em:
 Come on, I say; clear the way;
 Vote for PAULL, one and all;
 This is the Tailors' holiday,
 Therefore we will be merry.

3.

Four-and-twenty fools'-heads all on a row,
 Four-and-twenty fools'-heads all on a row;
 Cheek by jowl
 Let's go to the poll;
 France and Freedom,
 Here we'll lead 'em.

Come on, I say, clear the way ;—
 Vote for PAULL, one and all :
 This is the Tailors' holiday,
 Therefore let us be merry.

4.

Four-and-twenty bludgeon-men all on a row,
 Four-and-twenty bludgeon-men all on a row ;
 PAULL and plumpers,
 Bludgeons and thumpers ;
 Cheek by jowl let's go to the poll ;
 France and Freedom,
 Here we'll lead 'em ;
 Come on, I say, clear the way ;—
 Vote for PAULL, one and all ;
 This is the Tailors' holiday,
 Therefore we will be merry.

5.

Four-and-twenty SHERRY-boys all on a row.
 Four-and-twenty SHERRY-boys all on a row ;
 The Devil take all Treasurers,
 Give us Tailors and Measurers ;
 A stitch in time saves nine.
 PAULL and Plumpers,
 Bludgeons and thumpers ;
 Cheek by jowl let's go to the poll
 France and Freedom,
 Here we'll lead 'em :
 Come on, I say, clear the way ;—
 Vote for PAULL, one and all :
 This is the Tailors' holiday,
 Therefore we will be merry.

6.

Four-and-twenty friends of HOOD all on a row,
 Four-and-twenty friends of HOOD all on a row :
 If it wasn't that they retard it,
 We'd have BONAPARTE and BUNDETT
 Burn the Navy,
 France will save ye ;

The Devil take all Treasurers,
 Give us Tailors and Measurers ;
 A stitch in time saves nine :
 PAULL and Plumpers,
 Bludgeons and thumpers ;
 Cheek by jowl let's go to the poll ;
 France and Freedom,
 Here we'll lead 'em :
 Come on, I say, clear the way ;—
 Vote for PAULL, one and all :
 This is the Tailors' holiday,
 Therefore let us be merry.

FIFTEENTH, AND LAST DAY.

Wednesday, November 19.

This day, being the 15th and last of this arduous contest, produced a circumstance unparalleled in the Electioneering annals of this City ; the numbers of Mr. Paull and his antagonists upon the Poll of the day being precisely the same,—116 each. The total for each Candidate was as follows :

Sir. S. Hood 5478

Mr. Sheridan 4758

Mr. Paull 4481

—Leaving Mr. Sheridan a majority over Mr. Paull, of 277.—The moment the poll-books were closed, the high bailiff declared that sir S. Hood and Mr. Sheridan were duly elected. Mr. Paull demanded a scrutiny ; but the high bailiff declared that to be impracticable in the time within which he was bound to make his return to the writ.

Mr.

Mr. Paull therefore signified his intention to avail himself of the only alternative, a petition to parliament against the return. The matter being thus decided, Mr. Paull and his friends adjourned to Hudson's Hotel, from a window of which he harangued the multitude. He was afterwards drawn home in triumph by the populace.—Sir S. Hood and Mr. Sheridan immediately proceeded to a sort of military car, about 12 feet long, which was provided for the occasion, with a platform raised upon, and a gallery around it. The royal arms and military trophies were painted upon the back, with the words *George Rex*. Two chairs were placed upon the platform, for the two successful Candidates. They were covered with crimson velvet, richly gilt, and surmounted with an arch of laurel branches thickly interwoven. The carriage was drawn by six horses, decorated with orange and blue ribbons, the colours of Mr. Sheridan; and were each led by a man also decorated with cockades of orange and blue.

The procession set out from the south side of Covent-Garden, and advanced along Great Russell-street, down Brydges-street, Catherine-street, and down the Strand. Arrived opposite Northumberland House, the procession halted. That noble mansion was greeted with a loud huzza, and the band struck up "God save the King." The flag was hoisted upon St. Martin's church, and its bells began to ring a merry peal. The procession then advanced, along Cockspur-street, and into Pall-Mall, where it stopped opposite to Carleton House.

Here the band again played "God save the King," and the populace manifested their joy by shouts and huzzas. A similar mark of respect was paid to the Marquis of Buckingham's house, and the Union Club House, as the procession came opposite to these several houses. When it reached St. James's Palace, a glass of wine was served to Mr. Sheridan and sir Samuel Hood, with which they drank "The King, God bless him"—both gentlemen standing up, and waving the glass round their heads. They were warmly seconded by the surrounding multitude, who made the street re-echo with their acclamations, the band all the time playing "God save the King." The procession then advanced up St. James's-street and Piccadilly, to Devonshire House. The gates were thrown open, and the cavalcade entered into the court-yard of that noble mansion, by the western gate. When the car came close to the house, it stopped for a few minutes, and the duke of Devonshire, from the gallery, congratulated sir S. Hood and Mr. Sheridan upon their success. These two gentlemen returned thanks amidst loud huzzas; after which the procession left the court-yard in the same order in which it had entered, went down St. James's-street, and halted at the Thatched House Tavern. Mr. Sheridan addressed the people before he left the Car: He said, that having not yet lost his voice, he would endeavour to raise it for himself and the gallant Commander, whom he was now proud to call his colleague, to thank them; but

sure he was, that no words he could use could do justice to the feelings of either of them. They had, on that day, every thing on their side but the weather; and sorry he was to think that many of their friends, like themselves, were wet to the skins; but still he saw that their hearts were, like theirs, warm, and their spirits unchilled. He had never heard but one word, like common sense, urged against the gallant Officer, and that was, that he might be obliged to attend his duty in his profession, instead of in Parliament. His answer to this was, in one word, that if the war continued, he hoped the gallant Commodore would be found an absentee for the safety of the Country, and the defeat of his enemies. He would conclude by saying, that in any such case he would endeavour to represent him, as well as the Electors of Westminster, by maintaining in Parliament the principles of the Constitution, while his gallant Colleague was fighting, or perhaps shedding his blood for his King and Country. Mr. Sheridan bowed, and, with the gallant Commodore, retired.

Mr. Sheridan and Sir Samuel Hood's Dinner at the Thatched House Tavern, Nov. 19.

In the afternoon above 100 gentlemen, the friends of the successful Candidates, dined together at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's-street; Lord W. Russell in the Chair. After the cloth was removed, the usual loyal toasts followed; as did also the "Immortal memory of Mr. Fox," and "The cause of Liberty all over the world."

Upon the health of Mr. Sheridan and Sir S. HOOD being drunk,

Mr. SHERIDAN rose, and observed, that whatever frailties prejudice or ignorance might ascribe to him, there was one vice which had never been imputed to him, and which he hoped he never should deserve. He never was accused of ingratitude; and he must be capable of that, the worst of all the bad qualities of man, if he did not feel in the most lively manner the kindness, the affection, the ardent zeal which had been manifested towards him in the course of this contest. He had seen the friends by whom he was surrounded, not only active and labouring, but ready to shed their blood in his cause. He had also to observe with pride, that ever since an unhappy misunderstanding was removed, the gallant officers who were connected with his honourable and highly honoured Colleague were among the most active of those who canvassed for him, and were entitled to his eternal gratitude. To the English Navy he had always felt a particular partiality. They had ever been with him the peculiar objects of esteem and admiration; but this esteem was now heightened on his part by the receipt of personal favours, and the Navy had now a claim upon his personal gratitude. He hoped the company would give him credit for so much taste and judgment as should restrain him in future from ever mentioning the name of Paull. He now thought it necessary to advert to him, merely in consequence of some questions which had been put to him this day.

He

He was asked, why he had not the fulsome address of Mr. Paull which re-appeared this morning, published earlier in the Election? and his answer was, because he was ashamed of Mr. Paull's praise; and because he would not contribute to libel the Duke of Northumberland. But, looking at this address, what must the world think of a man who, on the 20th of Sept. dealt in such fulsome compliments to his qualifications, as to maintain that he (Mr. S.) ought to be the first object of the Electors' choice—that Lord Percy was quite unworthy to be put in competition with him?—“This young nobleman,” said Mr. S. “Mr. Paull at that time most grossly abused, but what I did then I fully thought to be right, and since then I have found upon inquiry, that Lord Percy, and I do not mean to praise him because he is the son of a great nobleman, for that with me is nothing; but I am assured that his lordship is a young man of the highest promise, capable of rendering honour to his high rank, and worthy the respect and esteem of the Electors of Westminster, or any other Electors in the country. But to return to Mr. Paull; after he had described the representation of Westminster as one of the highest objects of a public man's ambition—that I was the fittest person in the country to be chosen, and that it was presumption in Lord Percy to enter into competition with me, this same Mr. Paull has the audacity to charge me with abusing Lord Percy's family, and also the modesty to offer himself as my opponent. Mr. S. referred to the observations

made elsewhere, as to the sacrifices which the people were called to submit to, in order to meet the perils with which the country was surrounded. Of the odium which the author of these observations was anxious to attach to those who spoke of such sacrifices, he was willing to take his full share. The people must submit to sacrifices, in order to be saved; perhaps retrench some part even of the necessities of life. His gallant friend (Sir S. Hood) furnished a type of what England might become—She might lose a limb, but even if she should, she would still fight, as that gallant Admiral would do, to maintain her honour and safety, with unmaimed heart and unbroken spirit. That Englishmen would so fight, he had no doubt, and they must be prepared for the contest. Every Briton ought to be ready to follow in the steps of Nelson, as his gallant Colleague would do—ought to be prepared to say, “give me death, but give my country victory” (*loud plaudits*).

Sir S. Hood’s health being drunk, the gallant Officer returned thanks. Upon the health of

Mr. WHITEHEAD being drunk, he congratulated the company on the important triumph which the independent Electors of Westminster had achieved to-day—a triumph which was the more to be rejoiced in as it afforded a practical evidence of the advantages of a popular Government and a popular Election. The people had manifested their independence without tumult, and the friends of the Government were triumphant without any exertion of undue influence. When

it was said that the Liberty of Westminster was to be extinguished by the result of this contest, he would answer in the words of a gentleman who had lately attracted much attention, "look at the Poll;" and then ask whether such a spirit of independence as was there manifest was likely to be put down by any Minister? When the Hon. Baronet, the Candidate for Middlesex, spoke of independence, he might well be asked to "look at the Poll," which served to shew that there was very little, if any, of the independence of Middlesex willing to ally itself with his principles. But turning to the Election for Westminster, Mr. W. shewed that the Electors had done themselves honour by choosing one of the ablest and highest gifted men of this or any other time; and with him an officer than whom, unless the law should pronounce naval officers ineligible, it was impossible to find a better man to be with his Right Hon. Friend. He agreed with him in his description as to the state of the country. But yet he did not at all despond—still the peril he felt to be great, and so must all men capable of thinking; and when Sir F. Burdett and others, were heard declaiming against taxes, he would ask, could the affairs of the country be managed without taxes; could they themselves, were they in power, continue to keep the machine of Government in motion without additional burthens; if they could not, and they must be sensible that it would be out of their power, why should they, merely for the purpose of an Election, or popular intimation, excite a senseless outcry against taxes? He here, after a very

high

high panegyric upon the public services and character of Sir S. Hood, concluded with an exhortation to the Electors to bury all animosities with the Election, and to do honour, by their conduct, to those Representatives, who would, he was certain, do honour to them.—(*Applauses.*)

Mr. WHITBREAD, referring to the observation in his letter to sir F. Burdett, that the union of opposite parties was advantageous to popular liberty, quoted the instance of the Revolution in 1688; and begged to propose the health of the illustrious House which distinguished itself on that occasion, and a member of which was then in the chair. “The House of Russell” being drunk,

Lord W. RUSSELL rose, and after returning thanks, took occasion to advert to the doctrine of sir F. Burdett, with regard to the junction of parties who had formerly differed, as one more dangerous to Liberty than any that had been promulgated in the most arbitrary times. In fact, to establish such a doctrine would be to throw into the hands of an arbitrary minister one of the most powerful engines against popular liberty. But the whole demonstrated that the hon. baronet was totally inconsistent with himself on this point; for, no later ago than the period of Lord Percy’s Election, the hon. baronet publicly professed his approbation of the party with whom he had so long acted in part, and then; but still more at the celebration of the last Anniversary of the Middlesex Election, the hon. baronet congratulated his country on the change that had taken place in his Majesty’s councils. To
what

what cause, or to what person, the sudden alteration of the hon. baronet's sentiments was owing, he would not stop to enquire; but certainly the inconsistency was glaring. The hon. baronet, however, might change as often as he pleased; but, for himself, at the same time that he deprecated the idea of following the example of Mr. Paull, or Sir F. Burdett, by following them to the block, he would declare, upon his solemn word of honour, that he would forfeit his life sooner than forfeit his principles. [*Loud applauses*]. "The health of the Naval Officers—friends to Sir S. Hood," being drunk, Capt. Maxwell, who declared he was no orator, returned thanks for himself and brother officers.

Mr. SHERIDAN observed upon the declaration of the gallant officer that he was no orator; but, said the right hon. gent., we don't expect oratory from our gallant naval officers. When they address you, their friends, they speak in "the still small voice of gratitude;" but when they address the enemy—they speak in thunder. [*Loud plaudits*.]—The company broke up about 11 o'clock.

ELECTION.

A few choice, rare, and piquant Epigrams; addressed to the good Sense of the Electors.

Rouse, fellow Citizens, at Virtue's call;

If Freedom's dead, at least let's bear her PAULL.

ON SHERIDAN'S ACCIDENT.

A blow from marrow-bone one day, 'tis said,

Was aim'd at Sheridan's unlucky head;

'Twere well, for popular disgust to drown,

He on his *marrow-bones* had been brought down.

ON HIS ILLNESS.

What ! Sheridan is sick ? Ah ! well he might ;
 No wonder he should feel some little pain :—
 Poor man ! I think he'd pass a better night,
 If *antidotes* he got as well as *Bane*.*

DITTO.

Poor Sherry's so bad he'll come out never ;
 His doctor says he's ill of a fever.
 Ill of a fever—and away Tom slunk :—
 Not of a *fever*, sir ;—he's *only drunk*.

ON PETER MOORE.

In vain does Peter every day declaim,
 To make us think that Sheridan's the same ;
 Enough professions we've had before,
 I pray you let us not hear *Moore*.

TO THE ELECTORS.

Wise men choose good, reject the evil ;
 Choose PAULL ; the others to the Devil.

 Sir Samuel, some men say, is mighty good ;
 But we can wear our *cloaks* without a *Hood*.

DITTO.

Sherry with Hood is now combin'd,
 And thus to get more votes believes ;
 But, my good fellows, soon you'll find,
One is enough—not *Forty Thieves*.

* Dr. Bain is Mr. S.'s Physician.

*Mr. Paull's Dinner at the Crown and Anchor
after the Election, November 19.*

About 200 of the friends of Mr. Paull dined this afternoon at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. Major CARTWRIGHT was called to the chair.—Immediately after dinner the Chairman gave as a toast—"The King,"—which was drunk with the utmost enthusiasm. The Chairman then begged leave to read to the company certain Resolutions, which he wished to submit to them for their adoption. He then proceeded to read all the Resolutions, [which will be found in p. 290*]; and after they had received the unqualified approbation of the whole company, they were then read one by one, seconded by Mr. Gibbons, and unanimously carried by a shew of hands. The next toast given was—"The virtuous Electors of Westminster,"—with three times three, and unbounded applause. After a short period had elapsed, the Chairman gave—"Mr. Paull,"—which was drunk with three times three.

Mr. PAULL then addressed the company in a speech of some length, which he commenced by sincerely thanking the Electors of Westminster for the honourable, patriotic, and independent support by which they had maintained their nomination of him as a candidate for their representation: it must be clearly obvious, he said, that the independent Electors would have vindicated their choice, and carried his election with a triumphant

majority, had it not been for the combination of Ministerial power, of Treasury gold, and of aristocratical influence. Mr. Paull adverted to many of the topics which he had before repeatedly noticed in his speeches from the Hustings, in relation to the Treasurer of the Navy; and repeated his charges against that gentleman, of apostacy to the cause of the people, of which he so long professed to be the strenuous advocate; and of joining in a coalition with the very men whose principles and measures he had for so many years strenuously opposed. In consequence of that apostacy, and his acceptance of a sinecure place as its reward, the salary of which must be drawn from the pockets of the people, he saw himself deserted by every independent friend of those principles he had formerly professed, and yoked in the same car with sir S. Hood, the nephew of that Lord Hood, and the heir to those very principles which Mr. Sheridan had so long deprecated and derided. He had heard much of the talents of Mr. Sheridan, but what were talents without integrity? The more eminent the talents of a bad man, the more dangerous was it to entrust him with the sword of power, and thus to arm him against the liberties of his fellow citizens. It would be far better for the liberties of the people, that they should be protected by plain, honest men, attached to the principles, and jealous for the security of the constitution, than be entrusted to men of talents, however brilliant, whose real object was their own aggrandisement. He then adverted to the result
of

of the election, and stated, that in further vindication of the freedom and independence of Westminster, which he had pledged himself to support, he had, in failure of his endeavour to obtain a scrutiny, engaged himself to present a petition to the House of Commons. In pursuing such an important object, he would have no objection to sacrifice his fortune, or even his life, were it necessary; but he was certain the independent Electors of Westminster would demand no such sacrifice. He did not boast of unbounded wealth: all he possessed was a moderate independence. The result of the election, and the support he had received, gave him the fullest satisfaction: but he hoped he should not be thought presumptuous in soliciting the independent electors to aid him in perfecting the work they had begun; namely, the vindication of their rights and independence, and support, by a moderate subscription, the charges of the petition to Parliament. To sacrifice his own fortune in the cause, was what he was sure they did not desire; because that would deprive him of his independence, and render him unworthy to be their representative. He pledged himself to support the principles which had recommended him to their nomination, and never to abandon them so long as they honoured him by their support. He then gave as a toast, "The independent Electors of Liverpool, who placed at the head of the Poll the celebrated Roscoe, exempted him from expence, and inscribed on his banner, 'NO SLAVE TRADE.'"

Next

Next followed the health of "Sir F. Burdett, whom knaves hate and honest men venerate."

Sir F. BURDETT, after his health had been received with the most enthusiastic applause, said, that he had not repented of having nominated Mr. Paull as their Candidate, and returned them his sincere thanks. The hon. baronet then gave—"Defence, on right principles; Defence, of which National Liberty is the immoveable basis; armed Property and Freedom, the invincible superstructure; a defence interwoven in the very texture of the British Constitution, but which, great as are our dangers, has not yet been resorted to by our rulers with Constitutional fidelity."

Major CARTWRIGHT next gave—"Our afflicted brethren, the fallen people of the Continent, whose present unhappy condition is a practical demonstration, that a mercenary army, which every despot makes as large as he can extort taxes to pay, always enslaves, as long as it can protect; but being the bane of defence, upon right principles, neither nations nor thrones find in it their protection, in the hour of extremity."—After this toast was drunk, Major Cartwright immediately rose, and said, he had another resolution to propose. He then read the resolution which related to the subscription, (see p. 293*); and many of the company set down their names.

Mr. CLIFFORD rose to give a toast; but first he should call their attention to some circumstances

stances that belonged to it, and observed, that for many years Mr. Sheridan had been returned member for Stafford. It had alwas been the pride of the Electors of that town, to return a gentleman who had so long and so ably fought against corruption. But their minds were very much changed of late as to the conduct of Mr. Sheridan himself. Some time before the Election, Mr. T. Sheridan, his son, went thither, and sent the bell-man round to call a meeting of the corporation, to return thanks to his father. When the meeting took place, although a very numerous one, *there was not a person to be found to make the motion.* Afterwards, when the Election came on, Mr. Sheridan and his friends made enquiry concerning the circumstances of Mr. Mansel Phillips, one of the candidates. They found that a friend of that gentleman owed a bill of £00*l.* to a tailor, and was in danger of being reduced to gread difficulty, when Mr. Phillips passed his word for the payment of the bill, and saved his friend from a gaol. Mr. Phillips being thus responsible for the money, *they caused a writ to be sent from London, and had Mr. Phillips arrested upon it.* The writ was brought down by Major Deters, and executed, and a Mr. Burgess, domestic Attorney to Mr. Sheridan, was the agent for carrying it into effect. Mr. Phillips, however, was bailed by some of his friends. Still the party of Sheridan found out another demand against him, and caused him to be arrested at the suit of Mr. Harvey Combe for 10*l.*; and Mr. Cocker, an intimate

intimate friend of Mr. Sheridan, and an attorney of the Whig Club, was the agent employed on that occasion. This, Mr. Clifford considered a practice the most dangerous that could possibly take place to the Liberties of the people, and the rights of Election. It might be said that all this was done by the agents or friends of Mr. Sheridan, without his knowledge; but he must have had a sufficient power and controul over them, and he must be responsible for their acts. Notwithstanding all these attempts, the party of Mr. Sheridan was unable to succeed; the voters at Stafford were more than 600, and out of these Mr. T. Sheridan could obtain no more than 165.—“The health of the Electors of Stafford,” was then drunk with the greatest applause.

“The health of the Independent Electors of Middlesex, who had proved their attachment to Freed in by voting for sir F. Burdett,” was drunk with the warmest approbation.

Major Cartwright proposed the health of Mr. Cobbett, which was received with every mark of applause.

MR. COBBETT rose and addressed the Meeting to the following effect:—“Gentlemen; I rise to return my thanks to this assembly, for the honour they have just done me, in drinking my health; and I should rest satisfied with simply so doing on the present occasion, but that some assertions have appeared in the public prints of this day, and have been hardily repeated by Mr. Sheridan, on the Hastings in Covent Garden, in contradic-
tion

tion to that which I, on a former occasion asserted, (see p. 237,) and which indispensably call for some observations on my part in reply. What I before stated was, that Mr. Sheridan publicly on the Hustings, in answer to what had been stated, respecting a letter addressed by his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, to certain of the churchwardens, or vestry clerks in certain parishes of Westminster, stating, that his Grace had no objection that his son should stand with any honest man, but that his reason for withdrawing his son as a Candidate on the present Election, was, that he could not think of suffering him to stand as the colleague of so abandoned a character as Mr. Sheridan,—and Mr. Sheridan's declaration was, that nothing but the consideration of the Duke's being "*an old cripple and a dotard*" should protect him from his (Mr. Sheridan's) chastisement. This fact has been recorded in two, only, of the public newspapers; the rest having totally suppressed the statement.—Now, Mr. Sheridan has thought proper to deny, not only that he ever used any words disrespectful to the Duke of Northumberland, but has also ventured to assert, that no such letters have ever been addressed by his Grace to the churchwardens of the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John: but how is the assertion of Mr. Sheridan on this point borne out?—Why, that his Grace's letter was not, in fact, written precisely to the churchwardens, but to some other gentlemen connected officially with these parishes. And a Mr. Stephenson a Solicitor, who has some concern in the business

of the above parishes, has, indeed, acknowledged that he read a private letter of such purport, from the Duke of Northumberland, but in which he says, “ the *Treasurer of the Navy* was not mentioned.” The name, however, that I mentioned, was *Mr. Sheridan*. Mr. Sheridan is the *Treasurer of the Navy*; and, therefore, the distinction is no more than one of those jesuitical quibbles, for which the Sheridans are so celebrated. When I made my statement upon a former night, I then forgot, that at the time when Mr. Stephenson read the minute of the Duke’s letter, of which he made no sort of secret, there was a gentleman of the name of Clarke present. That gentleman is now, I believe, in this room; and I call upon him candidly to declare what he recollects of the matter.”—

Mr. CLARKE immediately rose and said, “ I owe it to truth and candour to declare, whatever may hereafter be sounded in my ears upon the subject, that Mr. Cobbett has stated nothing but the truth, and almost in the very words of the letter in question. I have always heretofore considered Mr. Stephenson as a man of truth and candour, and warmly esteemed him as such; but I must now say, that after his duplicity upon this subject, I shall not henceforward consider him as amongst the number of my friends.”

Mr. COBBETT, in continuation.—

“ I hope Gentlemen who entertained any doubt or uncertainty upon this subject, will now be convinced that my statement was true; but, in
addition

addition to this, I have the respectable authority of Mr. Porter of Parliament-street, one of the church-wardens, who has declared the facts to be exactly as I stated them. I have been charged with a breach of confidence; but, I positively deny that the communication to me was confidential. I asked Mr. Stephenson whether the subject might be mentioned? and he answered, that the duke of Northumberland had signified his permission that it might be told to any person whom it might concern. The assertion, therefore, of the Sheridans, that the communication was confidential, is one, amongst their last quibbling subterfuges. -- Another charge of misstatement has been brought by the Morning Chronicle respecting a flagitious over-charge for the insertion of Mr. Paull's advertisement: But it was a mistake of Mr. Paull in having taken the receipt of the Morning Post for that of the Morning Chronicle. Nevertheless, I do assert, that the same principle of exorbitancy, has, more or less, actuated most, if not all the morning papers against the advertisements of Mr. Paull; while they have been thrown open at the disposal of Mr. Sheridan.--It has been charged against me in the Morning Chronicle (see p. 247), that I have said, " what is called the Liberty of the Press in " this country ought to be destroyed." I do not hesitate to repeat that assertion; but I must be allowed to explain my meaning. Far be it from me to wish the destruction of that Liberty of the Press, to which every thing dear or estimable

in the liberties of this country owes its origin and its continuance. By the words, "Liberty of the Press," I do not mean that partial and licentious privilege which our modern journalists *call* the Liberty of the Press, and in which, equally careless of all sides of political questions, they carry on the trade for their own private emolument, just as much as the Globe Insurance Company, or any other money-making speculations do theirs; and they abuse one set of men, in order that they may extort from them exorbitant sums for the insertion of articles in their own vindication. In the course of this Election, all the public prints, with hardly an exception, have been opposed to Mr. Paull and those who support him. And, while they have been free to his opponents, they have demanded the most flagitious and exorbitant prices for the insertion of every article sent by Mr. Paull for insertion. The letter of major Cartwright in answer to the manifesto of Mr. Whitbread, (see p. 321,) appeared only in one paper, the Oracle, though the publication of Mr. Whitbread appeared in them all; and one paper in particular, The British Press—(I believe there is a paper of that name in existence)—demanded *ten guineas* for inserting major Cartwright's letter in answer to it. Yet this is the system which the editors of those papers term "the Liberty of the Press!"—Is it, then, wonderful that every honest man should wish to see *what they call* the Liberty of the Press extinguished? [*Loud and continued Applauses.*]—Amongst other things I
would

would notice, is a declaration said to have been made by Mr. Thomas Sheridan, son of the Candidate, and himself a rejected Candidate, “ that he was only restrained from personal chas-tisement of Mr. Paull, by considering that he should *raise* him in the estimation of society by *kicking him out of it* !” Now, gentlemen, I should be glad to know who and what is this Mr. Sheridan that assumes to himself of a sudden, such important consideration? or what pretensions he has to any thing respectable or good? We never heard of him ’till very lately, except as a gambler, or a Bond-street loungeur. It was said, that some time since he had some Office about the Prince of Wales’s regiment: when all at once, without ever looking into a military book — without any experience in military tactics—he suddenly rose to the supposed qualifications of an experienced commander, and was appointed *Aid-du-Camp* to that wise and valorous man the Earl of Moira. This, however, not having answered his lucrative expectations, (mark the wonderful versatility of genius in the Sheridans!) he suddenly drops the sword, takes up the pen, is appointed a Muster-Master General, and assumes the important duties of setting down “ John a’ Nokes absent,” and then a dash; and “ Tom a’ Stiles “ absent,” and then another dash: and for this he receives a salary of 2000*l.* a year out of the taxes wrung from the hard earnings of the people of England; while veterans, grown grey and covered with honourable wounds in the arduous ser-

▼vice

vice of their country, are starving upon half-pay in garrets throughout Westminster! [*Bursts of applause.*] While on the other hand, Sheridan the father, who has so long clamoured against the corrupt profusion of former administrations, now condescends to occupy a palace in Somerset-place, with a sinecure salary of four thousand a year as Treasurer of the Navy! [*Applause.*] In a word, gentlemen, the Sheridans are a sort of state paupers; like sturdy beggars, they tell you “Here we are, out of employment, and without a shilling: you must either find us work or maintain us idle:” in plain English, you must “either give us places or pensions” — [*Great applauses.*] Some have compared them to ticks — others to leeches, who derive their nutrition by sucking the blood of the country, and never drop off, ’till they are gorged: but I know of nothing to which they may be so aptly compared, as to the insect called the Forest Fly, which at one time buzzes in your ear, the next annoys your nostril; and in short, there is no part of the body so foul, at which it will not seek an entrance in search of its gratification. [*Bursts of laughter and applause.*] I should not have said so much about those gentlemen, had they not been so pointed in their attacks on others; and I do it in order to let them feel, that while they direct their malicious shafts at other men’s characters, they are not themselves quite invulnerable.”

Mr.

Mr. PAULL, after a suitable apology, left the Meeting, with several of his friends; and the chair was occupied by

Mr. COBBETT, who again addressed the assembly:—"Gentlemen," said he, "when I before had the honour of addressing you, I had forgot to make some observations, in answer to some of the leading objections, made by the friends of Mr. Sheridan, and the newspapers devoted to his cause, against Mr. Paull. Amongst others, the editor of the British Press—(I know not whether he has any aristocratical blood flowing in his veins)—states, that Mr. Paull is the son of a Taylor. There is a strange propensity in some descriptions of men to reproach their neighbours with the meanness of their family origin, without first looking back at their own: but, I believe, in a Country like this, which owes all its strength, its wealth, and its greatness to industry and trade, no rational Englishman will hold it disgraceful to be the Son of an honest industrious Tradesman. [*Applauses.*] But whose son, I would ask, is Mr. Sheridan?—why the son of a man, to whose memory I mean no personal disrespect, but who was a Play Actor; and, as such, denominated by the good old laws of England—a *Vagabond*. Now, any man who will read the history of the City of London, will there find that some of the good old kings of this Country,—(I don't mean any of the modern kings, who have lost us several important branches of the empire, but the good old and valiant kings of yore, who conquered France,

and

and raised the glory of the British Name,)—felt no degradation in being enrolled as members of the Merchant Tailor's Company in London: but I never yet read of any British king, ancient or modern, desirous to enroll himself as a member of any company of strolling players or vagabonds: nor was it until very modern times indeed, that Stage Players and Mimicks were deemed fit friends and companions, and guests at the tables of British Princes. [*Bursts of Applause.*]—But the distinctions which those aristocratical gentlemen have drawn for the degradation of particular trades, are not, it seems, confined to Mr. Paull, but extend to some of his friends. A flip-pant paper (the British Press), speaking of the gentleman (Mr. Gibbons) who seconded Mr. Paull's nomination, as a Candidate, on the first day of the Election, calls him a *Commission-man*. Another friend of Mr. Paull, I mean Mr. Hewlings, it calls a *Feather-man*. The same low print calls me the *Register-man*; and, I suppose, when its Editor finds out that I live great part of my time in the country, he will call me the *Plough-man*. Now, who were they who proposed Sir S. Hood? The one was Lord W. Russell; the other Mr. Dawes, the undertaker; so that the gallant Commodore was proposed by a *Place-hunter* and seconded by a *Death-hunter*.—Another ground of objection with the Aristocracy against Mr. Paull, and against all men, who, by their industry or their talents, have raised themselves to wealth and importance, is, that such men forget their
their

their origin and reject their poor relations. But what is the conduct of the Aristocracy themselves? Do they not constantly cast from them their nearest and dearest relations? Does not the eldest son of the family take the whole fortune to himself,—(which, by the law of nature, reason, and justice, should be equally divided amongst all the children of the same parents,)—and cast his younger brethren and sisters as a burthen on the Country, or by corrupt and fraudulent means quarter them on the public purse, by procuring for them places and pensions! I can myself mention a recent example in the case of the youngest daughter of the Earl of Uxbridge, who, notwithstanding the princely fortune of her noble father, has been placed upon the pension list at 300*l.* a year.—But, gentlemen, it would seem, from the doctrines of this modern aristocracy, that notwithstanding the elevation of Mr. Sheridan, no man in the Country, be his talents, his industry, or his fortune, what they may, must look for any honour or respect in society, unless he can trace back his family for fifteen generations. Those gentlemen are shocked, that Mr. Paull, whom they call the son of a tailor, should be proposed as a representative of the trading City of Westminster. Pray, whose son is Mr. Sheridan? and, who are his friends and partisans? Lord Percy, you will remember, was proposed by one *brewer* (Mr Whitbread), and seconded by another *brewer* (Mr. Elliott); and how, I should be glad to know, does the vending of *beer* ennoble a man any more than the vending of *Fea-*

thers? It seems, the profession of Stage Player, or the occupation of Brewer, is no bar against Parliamentary introduction, and political elevation ; but that, in the opinion of the new Aristocracy, no class of men, however raised by their industry, or their talents in other walks of life, shall presume to look for respect or rank in society ; and, least of all, for seats in Parliament, unless they can trace out their pretensions to the Paste and Paint of a Green Room, or to the Grounds of a Beer-barrel. [*Bursts of laughter and applause*]. I should not, gentlemen, have said so much on this subject, had it not been for the insults offered to our candidate, Mr. Paull ; and let it never be forgotten, that it was our adversaries that cast the first stone.” [*Loud applauses*].

After some observations from Mr. Clifford, stating, that an offer had been made to Sir F. Burdett to allow him to come in for Middlesex without opposition, if he would refrain at that time from declaring any public principles, the Meeting separated.—The following are the Resolutions passed at this Meeting.

Resolutions moved by the Chairman, Major Cartwright, and seconded by Mr. Gibbons, at a Meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on the 19th of November, 1806.

“ Resolved, I. That our principles, relative
 “ to Elections in general, and that the feelings
 “ and motives by which we were more especially
 “ actuated at the outset of the present contest,
 “ are

“ are fully set forth in our Resolutions agreed to
 “ at this place on the 30th ultimo, and signed
 “ with the honoured name of our then chairman,
 “ sir F. Burdett.—II. That, proceeding in strict
 “ conformity with those principles and motives,
 “ we have from that hour unto the present, scrupulously abstained from every attempt at undue
 “ influence, making our appeal to the good sense,
 “ the integrity, and the public spirit of the Electors; while, on the contrary, the partisans of
 “ our enemies have had recourse to every species
 “ of unfair means, whether of compulsion or of
 “ fraud.—III. That from a conviction of the
 “ unfitness of the other Candidates to become
 “ the Representatives of free and independent men,
 “ Mr. Paull has from the beginning, uniformly
 “ and explicitly declared his fixed determination
 “ not to be connected with either, and that the
 “ coalition between sir Samuel Hood and Mr. Sheridan did not take place, until after the former
 “ had obtained upwards of two thousand votes,
 “ under the effect of an opinion sedulously propagated, that he was not, and would on no
 “ account be, connected with the latter.—IV.
 “ That Mr. Paull has polled 4,481 votes of free
 “ and independent Electors of Westminster, of
 “ which 3,077 have been whole votes (or plumpers); while Mr. Sheridan has polled only 955
 “ whole votes, and sir Samuel Hood 1,033; and
 “ that, from the combination of these latter Candidates, we find that they each polled 3,240
 “ split votes.—V. That thus, notwithstanding

“ the before mentioned unnatural and odious coalition ; notwithstanding an union of the ministry, and of the whole of the aristocracy ; notwithstanding the combined hostility of the tax-gatherers, of the magistrates, and of the dependent clergy ; notwithstanding the means growing out of the large subscriptions made for Mr. Sheridan, by swarms of placemen and pensioners, who have thus opposed the voice of the people with the money drawn from them in taxes ; that, notwithstanding all the effects of this hideous and formidable combination against the free and independent part of the people, Mr. Paull has obtained, not only more suffrage than either of the other Candidates, but more than was ever before obtained by any Candidate for the Representation of the City of Westminster.—VI. That therefore, on a calm review of the progress, as well as of the result of this contest, we find solid reason to congratulate ourselves upon having obtained a triumph the most decisive over undue influence and political apostacy ; a triumph which has struck terror to the hearts of our opponents, and which will not fail to encourage us in our future exertions against all the enemies of our King and Country, domestic as well as foreign.—VII. That, for this glorious triumph, and for the fair prospect of better days which it presents to us, we are chiefly indebted to the integrity and perseverance of Mr. Paull, unto whom, therefore, we, in this public manner, express our warmest
“ gratitude,

“ gratitude, and declare our unalterable attachment.”

Further Resolutions passed at the said Meeting.

“ Resolved, that as the cause in which Mr. Paull is engaged is that of all the independent Electors of Westminster, and that as by practices the most foul, corrupt, and nefarious, a majority of votes on the poll has been obtained for Mr. Sheridan, it is incumbent upon us to stand forward in defence of our dearest rights and privileges, and to use every means in our power to procure Mr. Paull to be seated as our Representative, to which situation we think him legally entitled.—That, for this purpose, a subscription be entered into, and books to receive the names of the subscribers be open at the present committee-room, Hudson’s hotel, Covent-Garden; the Feathers, Grosvenor-place, Pimlico; and at the King’s Arms, in Mary-le-Bone-street.—That R. Williams, esq. No. 9, Lincoln’s-inn New-square, be the treasurer to receive and appropriate the sums subscribed.

(Signed) “ JOHN CARTWRIGHT, Chairman.”

Mr. Paull’s Address to the Electors of Westminster, after the Election.

GENTLEMEN;

After your having seen that, out of 14,717 votes, which have been polled at this election for the three candidates, 4,481 were polled for me, of which

3,077

3,077 were whole votes, or plumpers, while only 955 whole votes were polled for Mr. Sheridan, and 1,033 for Sir Samuel Hood ; after having seen, that thus, through your virtuous independence of mind, I have obtained, not only *more suffrage* than either of the other Candidates, but more than was ever before obtained by *any* candidate for the representation of the City of Westminster ; after having witnessed the general and indescribable indignation with which Mr. Sheridan was, on all occasions, received by the people, and their silent contempt towards the other candidates ; after having seen these, as they call themselves, *favourite* candidates, secretly and ingloriously sneaking from the Hustings at the close of the poll, and retiring through a back door, to have the result of it declared out of the hearing of the people ; after having seen them pursue their retreat through a private passage, to the spot where their theatrical car was provided for their reception ; after having seen them conducted to the scene of their carousals, surrounded by a host of constables and police officers, to whom, upon this special occasion, had been added, the officers of the Thames Police, while troops were drawn up in the Park, by way of superabundant precaution ; all which, nevertheless, was insufficient to shelter them from that mud, which the people considered as their most appropriate decoration ; after having seen that, while they, who were formerly objects of popularity, were thus surrounded with apprehensions for their personal safety, and stunned with hisses and groans,

groans, I was conducted to my house amidst heart-cheering shouts of applause, that reverberated even to their distant and barricadoed retreat; after having witnessed all this, need I remind you, gentlemen, that *ours is the triumph*, and *theirs the defeat*? For my share of this triumph, gentlemen, I am indebted to your good sense, public spirit, and love of real liberty, which never, at any time, or in any part of the kingdom, were so conspicuous as on this occasion, and which, while they demand my warmest gratitude for the past, are grounds of my unshaken reliance for the future, especially for the vigorous prosecution of those measures which are necessary, finally to obtain that justice, of which, through the means resorted to by our adversaries, we are, for the present, deprived. With sentiments of respect and affection never to be effaced from my heart, I remain, Gentlemen, Your faithful and devoted Servant,

Charles-Street, St. James's-Square,
Nov. 15, 1806.

JAMES PAULI.

*Lord William Russell's Letter to the Electors
of Westminster.*

GENTLEMEN;

Having observed in all the Reports of Mr. Paull's Speech on Tuesday last, (see p. 255,) a complaint respecting certain letters, asserted to have been written by me to several of my brother's tenantry, with a view of unfairly influencing their votes, I think it right publicly and unequivocally to affirm,
that,

that, in point of fact, I did not canvass, by letter or by word of mouth, or by any means whatever, a single tenant of the Duke of Bedford's, on the occasion of the last Election. Without any farther comment, I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, &c.

W. RUSSELL.

Resolutions passed at a Meeting of Mr. Sheridan's General Committee, on the victorious Termination of the late Contest.

Shakespeare Tavern, Nov. 21, 1806.

At a most numerous and respectable Meeting of the General Committee, who have conducted the Affairs of Mr. Sheridan's Election,

Resolved, That this Committee, studiously avoiding all parade of words, or ostentatious exultation, do simply congratulate the Electors on the success of their honourable efforts, connected as their cause has been with the maintenance of the Laws and Constitution, and the preservation of the Liberties and Peace of the Country.—Resolved, That the scurrility of Mr. Paull's last Advertisement is utterly beneath the notice of this Committee.—Resolved, That the cordial Thanks of the General Committee be communicated to the Chairmen and Members of the several Parochial Committees; and that Mr. Moore be requested to communicate the same, by letter, to the Chairmen of the different Committees.—Resolved, That a similar communication of Thanks be made to the several Chairmen and Committees associated on the part of Sir Samuel Hood, who, from the moment of the removal of an unfortunate misapprehension, have acted with the utmost zeal and energy to the common cause.—Resolved, That this Committee, in desiring Sir S. Hood to accept their sincere congratulations on the situation in which the gratitude of his Country has placed him on the poll, do further request him to communicate sentiments of equal gratitude to his gallant comrades, who have, so much to their own honour, contributed to the success of the Election of Mr. Sheridan and Sir Samuel Hood.—Resolved, That this Committee, adopting the reasons contained in Mr. Sheridan's letter to Mr. Moore, decline noticing the publications of Mr. Paull and Mr. Cobbett.

“ Somer-

“ Somerset-Place, Nov. 22, 1806.

“ DEAR SIR—The Committee, you inform me, wish that Mr. Paull’s advertisement of the 29th of September last, so ardently extolling me, and especially my pretensions to represent Westminster, should be published, that the attention of the Electors, and particularly of his own supporters, might be calmly called to the contrast of the sentiments then deliberately avowed by him, and the language he and his friends have since thought proper to hold. To this I can only repeat the answer I gave to a similar remark at the Thatched House, that I am far from being anxious to obtrude on the notice of the public Mr. Paull’s praises of me, and still more reluctant to assist in circulating a very coarse, though impotent, attack on the Duke of Northumberland and Earl Percy.—And as to Mr. Cobbett, I must again beg leave to differ from the Committee. Believe me, there can be no use in continuing to detect and expose the gross and scurrilous untruths which his nature, his habits, and his cause, compel him to deal in. Leave him to himself; rely on it there is not a man, woman, or child, in Great Britain, who believes one word he says. With regard to the passage respecting the scandalous words he continues to assert I spoke on the Hustings, notice of a different sort will be taken of that.

“ I have the honour to be, yours, very faithfully,

“ *To Peter Moore, Esq.* RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.”

Resolved, That this Committee cannot separate without expressing their high approbation of the conduct of the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan, throughout the late arduous and important contest, which has evinced a constancy and firmness, in supporting the true principles of the British Constitution, equally unshaken by the threats and malignity of his opponents, accompanied by a display of temper in the midst of provocation, and of sincerity and good faith throughout every transaction, as must for ever recommend him to the warmest confidence and esteem of those who value such qualities in a Public Man.

PETER MOORE, Chairman.

Resolved unanimously, That the most unqualified and grateful Thanks of this Committee be presented to Peter Moore, Esq. for his meritorious and spirited conduct as Chairman.

Mr. Sheridan's Address to the Electors of Westminster, after the Election.

GENTLEMEN,

The Communication made to me this day, from the General Committee, who so kindly and disinterestedly undertook the management of my Election, and to whose exertions I owe eternal gratitude, has decided me to make very brief the Public Address, to which, on the close of the Poll, I intended to have solicited no brief degree of attention; but, on reconsidering all that has passed, and bending to the judgment of those whose opinion I ought to respect, I forego my first intention of refuting all foul and foolish calumnies, which have been put forth against me, as well as of restating, with that proud confidence which I feel myself entitled to retain in my own bosom, my claims as a public man to the honour which I have aspired to, and which your justness and judgment have now conferred upon me. Why, it has been urged to me, should I stoop to a controversy with scurrility and falsehood, proof against the shame of detection, and insensible to the contrast of gentlemanly manners? It is true, and so I leave the question. At the same time, I cannot but cherish a hope, that all respectable persons who have been arrayed against me, have not been implicated in or even informed of the baseness of the means by which their cause has been attempted to be supported. Could I believe otherwise, I should feel that I owe it to the honour of the Citizens of Westminster to declare to its Electors that we cannot be justified in desiring to remember our success as a triumph, without endeavouring to forget who were our opponents. One word more, Gentlemen, and I have done. I take to myself the greatest blame, and I must also include many of my friends for my admission in the negligence, mismanagement and misapprehension which attended the too long protracted commencement of my claims; to enter into the cause of this would be to enter into a detail not now of material interest, or easily to be explained. I only intrust you to ascribe it to any motive but a want of personal respect in me toward any one Elector of any degree amongst you, and that I am sincere in the profession, I shall endeavour to prove, by the utmost assiduity, now the Election is over, to shew to you, individually and collectively, the gratitude, esteem, and devotion with which I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful Servant,

Somerset-Place,

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

Nov. 21, 1806.

Mr.

Mr. CORBETT'S Strictures on the Conduct of Mr. SHERIDAN during the Contest for Westminster; in a Letter to the Right Hon. WILLIAM WINDHAM.

SIR,

Batley, 27th Nov. 1805.

The conduct of the younger SHERIDAN, during the recent Election in Westminster, suggested to my mind the propriety of addressing a letter publicly to you upon the subject of *his situation in the army*, that army for the exciting and preserving of emulation in which you have shown such a laudable anxiety. But, sir, upon taking up my pen for this purpose, my thoughts naturally fly back to the time, when you as well as I had to encounter the effects of the elder Sheridan's mob-courting cant and misrepresentations; and, thus reflecting, I cannot refrain from endeavouring to give you, who were in Norfolk during the whole of the period of the contest in Westminster, a tolerably accurate idea of the occurrences with respect to this our former assailant, who, during the existence of the Addington ministry, was, as he succeeded in persuading the House of Commons, the only man possessing popularity in an extensive degree.—You have read, sir, in the Register of the 8th instant, page 715, an account of the reception which Mr. Sheridan met with upon his first appearance at the Hustings in Corent Garden (see p. 19); but, sir, the scene was far beyond the ordinary powers of description. Mr. Sheridan, according to his usual custom, kept every thing waiting for his arrival; and, when he did arrive, he appeared to have been hurried away in an unprepared state. By surplus of misfortune he placed himself on the side of sir Francis Burdett. Good heavens, what a contrast! An involuntary shout broke forth from the multitude, through whose voice honest nature seemed to exclaim: “Look on *this picture*, and on *this!*”—It was not until this moment that Mr. Sheridan was convinced, or, perhaps, that he suspected, that so far from being popular, he was an object of unanimous unpopularity and odium. I could have told him of the fact several days before; and so could his friends; but facts of such a nature, friends are not, in general, very ready to communicate.—The general hissings and groanings, with which Mr. Sheridan and his supporters were reviled, have been before spoken of; and some notice has, in the venal daily prints, been taken of the particular reproaches of a person, whose *name* Mr.

SHERIDAN

Sheridan attempted to render a subject of ridicule; an attempt which I will not repay by giving a description of Mr. Sheridan's face. This person, as soon as the speeches and the uproar were at an end, approached as near as he could to the Hustings, where, raising his arm and shaking his clenched fist, he, in a loud and clear voice, audible within as well as without the Hustings, thus began: "Sheridan! many days and weeks and months and years I have longed for an opportunity of daring to speak the truth of you to your face; that opportunity is now come, and I will not let it slip." He then began, and, though it took him no little time, he went through the whole of his character and conduct, private and public, moral and political. His description was nervous and eloquent; and, when I tell you that it was *perfect*, you will not be sure, expect me to repeat it in print, notwithstanding all Mr. Paul's professions respecting the liberty of the press.—From the *venal* press, sir, you would imagine, that Mr. Sheridan kept his temper through all this. Nothing is further from the truth. He did, indeed, vent a few of his threadbare jests; but, by the few who were able to hear them, they were received with expressions of disgust and contempt; and, at the close of the first day, he, in these words, took his leave of the people, of that people whom he had so long succeeded in deluding: "you have behaved like a set of blackguards, particularly you, you broad-faced bully, and d—— you, I'll stay with you no longer."—The venal press has told you, sir, that this "broad-faced orator" was *hired* by Mr. Paull; but, the fact is, that neither Mr. Paull nor any of his friends had ever spoken to the orator, nor, until after the day was over, did any of them know who he was. We then learnt, that his name was BURRAGE, and that he kept the Old-Parr's-Head in Swallow-street. But, while I say this, I for my own part, shall say, that I highly approved of his conduct; and was glad to find, that there was one man, at least, who had spirit enough to discharge so useful a public duty.—The venal prints have said, sir, that Mr. Paull *hired a mob*; and, that very profound personage, Mr. Peter Moore, swore, that *he*, forsooth, would look to Mr. Paull for any violence that might take place (see p. 21). But, if any thing had been to be done by *hiring*, is it likely that Mr. Paull would have had the advantage? Was it possible for him to hire the 50,000 young men, who every evening conducted him from the Hustings? Mr. Sheridan (and it was truly curious to hear it)

requested

requested Mr. Paull, on the first evening of the election, "to *speak to the mob*" to cease hooting him. "The mob!" exclaimed Mr. Paull. "They are *the people*, my very good friends, and it is not for me to dictate to them, as to the manner in which they shall express their feelings." But, though Mr. Paull *hired* nobody, Mr. Sheridan, or his supporters hired people enough. On the first day, Mr. Paull, in compliance with custom, had a band, if I may so call them, of marrow-bones and cleavers; but, they were that night dismissed. The Sheridan party had not only a large body of this description, but, also 200 *black-coat-men*. Yet this formidable corps, though aided by a large gang of sir Samuel Hoo's *sailors* (who would have been better employed on board a ship), were unable to keep the field, when, towards the close of each day, the people were assembled at the Hustings. The fact is, that the whole of the *free* part of the people were with Mr. Paull; and if he had not been extremely moderate in his conduct, his opponents never could have brought any body to poll for them.—You have seen, sir, that the heroic Sheridan *kept away* from the Hustings for several days; and, after what has already been published, you will want nothing to convince you that the *illness*, ascribed to a *blow* received at the Hustings, was a mere pretence. Such it certainly was. No blow ever was, in my opinion, given. Mr. Sheridan, that same night, drank many toasts and made a long speech, at the Crown and Anchor, and he was, the next day, seen by many persons canvassing from door to door. Of the letter, which has appeared in the newspapers, under the name of the pretended *striker*, you will easily guess at the origin; and, if this man was really guilty of a *breach of the peace*, and was, as he is said, to have been *committed* for it, upon oath made against him, it will not fail to occur to you to ask, by what *sort of law* it was that Mr. Sheridan was able to *order him to be released*!—After Mr. Sheridan had been spurred on to come again and shew that face of his at the Hustings, he took occasion, one evening, to put in his claims to public gratitude on account of what he had done, or rather said, with respect to the *Volunteers*, of which *establishment*, he said, he had the honour to be a *colonel*.—Upon this the hisses and groans, which, from the effects of fatigue, had begun to subside, broke out again louder than ever. "No *regiments of fire-gatherers*; no *major Bowns the under-taker*; no *polo-mag*; no *canting patriotism*,"

“*him*,” were heard from ten thousand mouths at once. Finding that this did not take, he, as a prelude to another medical stroke, began to pay some compliments to me, which compliments, coming from him, I took the earliest opportunity to say that I never saw in them. They, however, answered his purpose in a manner, scarce, which he availed himself of to say, that he “detested my recommendation for breaking faith with the public and law;” which words were hurled out of his mouth with an air, rare with shouts of malignant surprise; and this unusual exclamation, in which every voice had been strained to its utmost, being followed by a short interval of comparative silence, a man, from the middle of the crowd, in a very distinct voice, uttered the following words: “*Hear! hear! hear! Sheridan: Break and Fail in Sheridan. DETESTS “BREAKING FAITH WITH CREDITORS!”*” Which words were echoed and re-echoed through every part of the immense multitude collected in Covent-garden and the adjoining streets and houses. The vocal powers have recorded his observations levelled at me; but, they have taken special care not to notice the indignation and sarcasm drawn forth from the people by those observations.—Mr. Paul’s address to the Electors, after the election, you have seen, sir, (p. 293). Mr. Sheridan’s you may also have seen, (p. 294) and, if you have, I think I may venture to say, that so strong a mark of mental imbecility never before met your eye. Is this the man of great talents? Whither, then, are those talents fled? And what has chased them from their former abode? Is this the man, who has the modesty to rail against Mr. Paul, as a person void, from want of talents, to represent the City of Westminster? Could any of the Whitneys and the Moores and the Russes, and the whole of the pompous pretenders to superiority of intellect, make up any thing better than this senseless address, especially after having taken three days to write and alter and improve? Are we, indeed, to be told, that we shall all be relieved, unless we have men like *him* to rule us? In yourself, sir, and in men like you, I have no part, may no objection to acknowledge and especially to let, in men, such as we have had to contend with. As servants, and of whom, at every step, we have reason to be sensible and suspicious in everything of which men are capable, and in which they are capable, the most man amongst us, is not to be trusted, and especially when the acknowledged

knowledge is, and with so much insolence too, demanded at our hands.—Of the *high blood* of our opponents, and particularly of *the Sheridans*, I have before spoken, and I will not, therefore, offend your ears with their disgusting pretensions upon this score. But, sir, it was impossible to hear the language of our opponents in general: the language of the several branches of but too many of the titled families, of the bankers, of the farmers of taxes, of loan-in-kerns, and others, was out looking back to the *real causes* of the destruction of the French Government, and to the conduct of the titled families when the French Revolution broke out, and when the unhappy King stood in need of the defence of the title families. And, what had we done, that we were to be treated as persons to be heard and regarded to be heard in public? We had only claimed the exercise of that right, which the King's writ not only called upon us, but commended us to exercise. We had called upon the free electors to choose a Candidate free from the influence of either King or Minister; and, were we, for this, to be treated as low and insignificant men? We have convinced our adversaries, that we are not insignificant even now; and, let fortune but give us another opportunity, and we will produce in their minds, if they are not completely stultified, the further conviction, that ours is not a sordid propensity.—

Mr. Paull, as you have seen, Sir, obtained not only much *more suffrage* than either of the other Candidates, but much more than had ever been before obtained by *any* Candidate for the representation of the city of Westminster. And, Sir, this was done without any unfair means. We made no attempt to deride or seduce the people. No sentiment was expressed by us, that I myself had not expressed in public, when addressed myself to the dispassionate judgment of my readers, with relation to the very nature of my publication, and, in general, to be found in what we commonly call the *big words* of life. I am sure I have not less the ignorance and discontent and prejudice of the people, which Mr. Paull does it now. No influence, other than that which was visible to all the world, did any of us use; and, as to myself, then, there were many persons in Westminster, on whom I might have imposed almost a command to vote for Mr. Paull, but, for a man to say, that I even *solicited* a vote from any person under obligations to me. The law says, that "*Elections shall be perfectly free*," and the dictates of the law I have, both in Hampshire and in Westminster, strictly obeyed. To say the truth, however, no com-

mands were, on our part, necessary. We found all the *free voice* of the people for us; and, amongst those who were not free, we invariably met with hearty wishes for our success. The united influence of the Government, the aristocracy, and the dependent clergy, operating upon avarice, upon self-interest, and upon self-preservation, was, with the aid of splitting votes, too numerically powerful for us; but, we had with us all the truly independent and virtuous men in the middle class of society. If the list of our voters were examined, it would be found, that we had not for us one play-actor, not one vagabond, not one of those immense numbers who live by means, which are notoriously illegal, or immoral. Yes, Sir, it will always be our boast, that, out of the 4481, persons, who voted for Mr. Paull, only 335 voted *for Mr. Sheridan*; and, it will be amusing enough for you to hear, that *Mr. Sheridan* has the honour to number amongst his voters every one who voted at all of those godly persons, the members of the *Society for the Suppression of Vice!!!* Mr. BALDWIN, to whose name, though he verges upon threescore, is generally prefixed, for what reason you may probably guess, the infantine appellation of BILLY; this gentleman, who is a *Commissioner of Taxes, Paymaster of the Police-men's salaries, and a member of the House of Commons*, in which latter capacity he, of course, votes the money that he himself receives on his own account; this gentleman who was as busy and as clamorous in the cause of Mr. Sheridan as if he had never been a dependent of the Duke of Portland; this gentleman had the modesty to say, upon the Findings, that he would have the names of Mr. Paull's voters published, "that none of them might ever be admitted into gentlemen's company." Now, what will Billy Baldwin say, when I *publish* the names of all the placemen, pensioners, and the relations of placemen and pensioners; of all the tax-gatherers, magistrates, police men, and dependent clergy; of all the play-actors, scene-shifters, candle-snuffers, and persons following illegal, or immoral callings? What will Billy Baldwin say, when I publish the names of all the persons of these classes, who have voted for Mr. Sheridan, and when I take care to show the people of England the *sums* which the voters of the former classes *receive from the taxes*? He surely will not complain of illiberal dealing? Billy Baldwin, as the organ of our high-blooded accessories, has thrown down the gauntlet; and shame upon our cause if there be a single man amongst us so base as to be afraid to take it up!—You have, doubtless, read, sir, a description of the

claiming

chairing of the two "*favourite*" Candidates, as they are called by the venal writers of the daily press; and, until you read Mr. Paull's last address, it will certainly have appeared odd to you, that, *favourites* as they were, they should not have followed the invariable custom of being chaired *round Covent Garden*. They no more dared to attempt it, than general Reignier dared to attempt being chaired through our army in Egypt. They slipped away from the Hustings, carefully keeping from the people all knowledge of their intentions; and, while the people were waiting in Covent Garden, they got to their CAR, through a narrow passage, which leads from St. Paull's church into Henrietta-street. The car, which had been constructed by the people of *Drury Lane Theatre*, was surrounded by beadles, constables, police-officers and police-magistrates, to whom, even their own venal prints inform us, had been added the numerous officers of the Thames police. "*The people*," of whom they talk, as *huzzars*, consisted of the play-actors, scene-shifters, candle-snuffers, and mutes of the theatre, aided by a pretty numerous bevy of those unfortunate females, who are, in some sort, inmates of that mansion. So that, the procession did, altogether, bear a very strong resemblance to that of BLUE-BEARD. The "*favourite*" Candidates were almost entirely hidden by large *branches of laurel*, which the property-man, as they call him, of Drury Lane Theatre, had placed round the car; but, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding the constables and police officers (some of them on horseback and armed with cutlasses) were placed six deep on each side of the car, the *mud* found its way to the inside of it; and, as the venal prints inform us, one man was actually seized and committed to prison, for this act of throwing mud at the "*favourite*" Candidates! About the time that they had got in safety to their place of dining, Mr. Paull set off from Covent Garden to his house, conducted by thousands upon thousands of men. Soon afterwards Mr. Paull, together with sir Francis Burdett, set out from Charles-street to the Crown and Anchor; and, though it was now dark, the zeal of the people overcame even that inconvenience; for, the street quickly became as light as if it had been day. There needed *no money* to be given to buy torches. The people felt that they were asserting their own rights; that they were engaged in their

own cause; and, sir, if I am told that they were foolish, let me never again be told, that they discover their *good sense* and their *patriotism* when they draw the carriages and light the way of such men as lord Nelson.—Let us now look back upon the “favourite” Candidates. As to the Commodore, few people, I believe, grudged him the honour of being the colleague, of being encircled in the embraces, of that man, from whose political touch lord Percy had recoiled; and, as to Mr. Sheridan himself, though he talked of *a victory*, he well knew, he severely felt, that the 19th of November, the day when he was returned for Westminster, was the day of his everlasting political disgrace. Before Mr. Paull offered himself as a Candidate, no notion existed in the mind of Mr. Sheridan that he should have any even the slightest opposition to encounter. He expected that the Election would pass off as lord Percy’s had done; and, I dare say, his speech for the occasion, was already prepared. He would have considered himself as the *successor of Mr. Fox*; so he would have been considered by the greater part of the country; and, he would have taken care to make the minister consider him as having the people of Palace-Yard always ready to petition or remonstrate, at his nod. In short, the cup of his ambition was just touching his lip when we came and dashed it to the ground. The charm we dissolved; all his arts of delusion we baffled; we exhibited him in his true colours; and, in those colours he will be seen unto the end of his days. Previous to the publication of Mr. Paull’s first address, Mr. Sheridan’s friends gave it out, that he had refused any assistance from the ministry, being resolved to be the Candidate of *the people*. What, then, sir, must have been his feelings, when he was, at last, compelled to go, surrounded with his friends, and humbly implore the protection of the minister; aye, of that very man, whose public character and conduct, and whose talents as a statesman, had, for years, been subjects of his almost incessant censure and his affected contempt!—Sir, I cannot see *him*, thus stripped of his independence by an overweening confidence in his powers of delusion; I cannot see him upon a level with the holder of a treasury borough, while I see *you* a representative of your native county, having had recourse to no mean arts, but relying upon your own virtue and upon the friendship of a truly independent and honourable man; I cannot view this contrast without reverting to the time, when

Mr.

Mr. Sheridan, conscious of a hundred-to-one majority at his back, revelled in the delight of misrepresenting your arguments and your views, and of exciting a prejudice against you, amongst the very people, by whom, politically speaking, he has now been trampled in the dirt.—Here I should dismiss this part of my subject; but, the following passage in a publication of Mr. Sheridan demands a remark or two:—"To this I can only repeat the answer I gave to a similar remark at the Thatched House, that I am far from being anxious to obtrude on the notice of the public Mr. Paull's praises of me, and still more reluctant to assist in circulating a *very coarse, though impotent, attack on the duke of Northumberland and earl Percy*. And as to Mr. Cobett, I must again beg leave to differ from the committee. Believe me there can be no use in continuing to detect and expose the gross and scurrilous untruths which his nature, his habits, and his cause, compel him to deal in. Leave him to himself; rely on it, there is not a man, woman, or child, in Great Britain, who believes one word he says. With regard to the passage respecting the scandalous words, he continues to assert, I spoke on the Hustings, notice of a different sort will be taken of that."—I will not stop to ask who is most likely to be believed, Mr. Sheridan or me; but, I cannot refrain from observing with what ingenuity he is attempting to shift "*the coarse and impotent attack on the duke of Northumberland and earl Percy*" from his *own shoulders to mine*. I merely asserted that *he* had made such an attack, in addressing himself to a gentleman who was ready to make oath of the fact. So far from joining in this attack, I have, upon all occasions, expressed my decided disapprobation of it, well knowing as I do, that the duke of Northumberland stands as high in virtue, private and public, as he does in rank and in real dignity. The conduct of this nobleman, and all the persons acting under him, has been, during the contest at Westminster, truly exemplary and constitutional. They have, in no instance that I have heard of, attempted to interfere in the Election. The manner in which the duke withdrew his son from the City was most dignified and patriotic; and the public have only to regret, that the laudable example of both father and son was not followed by others who ought to have been proud to follow.

follow it. A fact has come to light, too, which I have great pleasure in stating, because it will operate as a correction of an error, into which, with many others, I was led with regard to Lord Percy's Election, namely, that there had, from the beginning, been a secret understanding between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Sheridan. It now appears from unquestionable authority, that there was no such understanding; but that Mr. Sheridan, having his own objects with respect both to Westminster and Stafford in view, was the sole cause of all the public discontent which, upon that occasion, was so visible.—Mr. Sheridan and his committee interchange resolutions and vows *not to publish any contradiction of my statements*. They are wise, sir; for they well know, that I have stated nothing which is not *perfectly and notoriously true*.

I am, sir, &c.

WM. COBBETT.

SCRUTINY.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the free and independent Electors of Westminster, and other friends in the interest of Mr. Paull, held at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, on Monday, November 24, 1806; major Cartwright in the chair, it was unanimously resolved,

I. That it appears to this meeting, that, while for Mr. Paull none, as we are persuaded, but pure and unbiassed votes of free and independent Electors of Westminster were given, we are assured that means the most corrupt were resorted to by his opponents, in order to obtain a majority of votes on the poll, by which the freedom of Election was violated, our rights and privileges were invaded, and a deadly blow was aimed at our independence.—II. That it is become absolutely necessary, for the preservation to ourselves and to our posterity, of the Elective Franchises of Englishmen, that the most vigorous and decisive measures be adopted, to obtain that justice, and the restoration of those rights of which we have been so illegally deprived.—III. That it is the opinion of this meeting a petition should be presented to parliament against the return of Mr. Sheridan, and that a Scrutiny should also be demanded and carried on.—IV. That as the contest is not merely between Mr. Paull and the other Candidates, but is one which involves the dearest interests of the independent

pendent Electors of Westminster, as well as of the whole Elective body of the kingdom, it is become a sacred duty incumbent on us to afford every kind of assistance in our power towards the accomplishment of that object, for which we have so arduously struggled—and that the fortune of Mr. Paull should not be made the sacrifice of his zeal and firmness in the cause of the people.—V. That therefore a public subscription be opened, not only in the metropolis, but in all the principal towns in the kingdom, to defray the expences of the Election, and the proceedings subsequent thereto; and that books be opened at the banking-houses of Messrs. Ransom, Moreland, and co. Pall-Mall; Messrs. Brown, Cobb, and Stokes, Lombard-street; Messrs. A. Davison, Noel, Templer, and co. Pall-Mall, and at the following places:—Mr. Gibbons, No. 1, Great Russell-street, Covent-Garden; Mr. G. Puller's, No. 139, Long-Acre; Mr. Adams's, No. 73, Dean-street, Soho; Mr. Sandford, Conduit-street; Mr. Harris's, Berkeley-square; Mr. J. Ellis, No. 22, Charing-cross; Mr. Edwards's, No. 28, Queen's-row, Pimlico; and Mr. Hewlings, No. 11, Duke-street, St. James's-square;—and that all subscriptions received by the latter gentlemen be, as soon as possible, paid into one of the above banking-houses, in the name of the treasurers.—That a committee be appointed to superintend the appropriation of the money to be raised, and to conduct the future necessary proceedings, with liberty to add to their numbers, if they should see occasion, and of whom three should be the treasurers.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

It was also resolved unanimously—that the thanks of the meeting be given to the chairman for his upright and impartial conduct in the chair.

SAMUEL WHITBREAD'S "WORD OF HONOUR."

Mr. Hewlings' Letter to the Editor of the Review.

Sir,—I am happy to say, that amidst the almost general prostitution of the press, your columns have uniformly been open to independent and constitutional principles and sentiments, even though coming from an individual so humble as myself. I will, therefore, with your permission, through this medium, acquaint my fellow

fellow Electors of Westminster, and the public, how sacred these whig patriots, Messrs. Whitbread and Sheridan, keep their "word of honour," and how scrupulously they fulfil their promises.—You have not forgotten, sir, that after Mr. Sheridan's recovery from his illness, or rather his chagrin, he asserted on the Hustings of Covent Garden, that "on the 18th of Sept. I was his warm friend;" (p. 202). Next day, the moment his arrival was announced by the hisses, the groans, the maledictions, and the ejected rheum of the surrounding people, the moment he appeared I ascended the Hustings, and told him that "he had asserted a falsehood of me;" that "I considered it a libel on my character to be called his friend since the last session of parliament; and if he did not contradict his statement in the papers, I would explain myself from the Hustings." To avoid which, he promised me solemnly, in the presence of Mr. Berkeley Craven, and a man who I believe to be Mr. Jackson the bruiser, and several others of his "high blooded" friends, that he would contradict it on the morrow in the morning papers. The morrow came, but no contradiction appeared; and when Mr. Sheridan came to the Hustings, I complained of it to him, insisting on the explanation. In palliation, he said, that "he had dined with his friends at the Shakespeare, where they grew jovial, sat late, and forgot it."—People of England, behold a miracle! candour for once in Richard Brinsley Sheridan!!!—He again renewed his promise, which I rejected. Mr. Whitbread then promised, "upon his word of honour," that the contradiction should appear on the morrow. I waited till the 26th instant; still the wished-for contradiction did not appear, when I wrote the following letter:—

"Sir,—It will be in your recollection, that Mr. Sheridan promised me on the Hustings of Covent Garden to contradict the statement he had made respecting me, namely, 'that on the 18th of Sept. I was his warm friend:' having said that he promised this, renders it almost unnecessary to add, that he has not performed that promise; and you will likewise recollect, that to prevent an explanation taking place on the Hustings, you gave me a specific promise that such contradiction on the part of Mr. Sheridan should take place; and although I should

"never

“ never expect from Mr. Sheridan the fulfilment of any promise,
 “ either of a public or a private nature, yet, as I believe you in-
 “ capable of violating any promise given to any man, I rely on
 “ you for an immediate contradiction of the above statement,
 “ which I consider to be due to my character. I have the honour
 “ to be, Sir, &c.

“ To S. Whitbread, Esq.

A. HEWLINGS.”

To the above I never received any answer, nor did any contradiction appear. Now, on what principle it is that Mr. Whitbread denies me justice (or, what is equivalent to a denial, keeps silence) I do not know, nor can I even guess, unless that gentleman has formed a new system of morals as well as politics, a fundamental principle of which is, that a difference of profession cancels all moral obligations, consequently that a dealer in beer is not obliged to keep a promise given to a dealer in feathers. If this be his system, and I suspect it is, I will merely observe, that it is perfectly consistent with every principle, moral or political, of those degraded men, of whom he is a leader; and I will venture to prophesy, that it will be (inasmuch as it is very convenient) adopted by his supporters, the “ Juvenile Aristocracy” and “ the Female Patriots of Westminster;” more properly called Titled Swindlers and Painted Prostitutes.—But as Messrs. Sheridan and Whitbread will not prove any thing (except their own infamy) I shall prove the assertion of Mr. Sheridan to be false. You, sir, will recollect, that I publicly censured the conduct of Mr. Sheridan and the Whig Administration so early as February last; and further, on the 18th day of September, the day Mr. Sheridan would have the people believe I was at the Crown and Anchor, and with the giddy multitude applauding that speech, which was calculated to degrade us to the condition of slaves, I was at Conway, 250 miles distant—I did not arrive till four days after, and then only to oppose the measures of Mr. Sheridan. After having seen that man, in the presence of thousands of the people, detected in lying backwards and forwards—after having seen his professions treated with scorn by these people—after having heard him on the Hustings drink the health of the Electors of Westminster, and seen these Electors pledge him by spitting in his face, it cannot be supposed that my object is farther
 to

to degrade him ! No, that would be impossible. I have made this exposition of facts, partly to disprove the foul aspersion that I was the friend of such a man ; partly to add one more instance of detected falsehood to the many of which this gentleman has been guilty ; but chiefly to shew you by experience, that the word of Mr. Whitbread is just as much to be regarded as that of Mr. Sheridan, and that the promise of either is equally valuable. I am, Sir, your obliged, and very humble fellow subject,

Nov. 29, 1806.

ABRAHAM HEWLINGS.

HISTORY
OF THE
MIDDLESEX ELECTION,
IN THE
MONTH OF NOVEMBER,
1806.



HISTORY
OF THE
MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

*Mr. Byng's First Address to the Independent
Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.*

GENTLEMEN;

HAVING had the honour of representing you in the three last Parliaments, I once more solicit your Votes to replace me in that distinguished situation; feeling conscious that I have not in any one single instance deviated from those principles which first recommended me to your favour. I hope to continue through life a Friend to Freedom, an Enemy to Corruption, and a determined Supporter of those Privileges which of right belong to the People in the scale of the constitution. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your faithful and obliged Servant,

Wrotham Park,
Oct, 25, 1806.

G. BYNG.

Sir Francis Burdett's First Address to the Independent Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

GENTLEMEN;

Whenever the Leaders of contending parties and factions in a State unite, the history of the world bears evidence, that it never is in favour, but always at the expence, of the People; whose renewed and augmented pillage pays the scandalous price of the reconciliation. Under these circumstances, you are called, prematurely and suddenly, to a fresh election of your Representatives, if they can be called such. And a double imposture is attempted to be passed upon you. The watchword of one party is—"The best of Kings." The watchword of the other is—"The best of Patriots." But neither of these parties will choose to descend to particulars, and inform you what the best of Kings, and the best of Patriots, have already done, or will hereafter do, for you. What they have done for themselves, we know, and feel: what farther they will do for us we can only conjecture. They who have desired a new Parliament thus suddenly, in our present situation, undoubtedly have their own strong reasons for it, which they are not likely to disclose: But I am thoroughly persuaded, that all our present burdens and restraints, vexatious and galling as they are, will appear but as trifles when compared with what they will be at the close of this now-coming Parliament.—I would willingly be instrumental in the
rescue

rescue of my Country, at the certain expence of life and fortune. But it cannot be rescued, and would not deserve to be rescued, unless the majority of the Country be uncorrupt. It is fit that the experiment should be tried ; and that, at least, the proportion of remaining integrity should be known. And I pledge my honour to you, Gentlemen, that, upon the present occasion, I do not desire the aid or countenance of any of the parties, in or out of power : that I will not distribute, nor consent to the distribution even of a single cockade ; nor will I furnish, nor consent to the furnishing of a single carriage. If the Freeholders of Middlesex feel the situation of their Country, and desire to redress its grievances ; they will do their easy parts towards such redress, by an uncorrupt vote. And if this spirit is not to be found in this County at this time, it is not likely to be found any where else, at any time.—Let the Freeholders of Middlesex do their easy duty ; I will do mine, which will not be easy : and, if it shall be their unbiaſſed choice, I will prove myself their uncorrupt, disinterested, and zealous Representative. I am, Gentlemen, with full assurance of your integrity and spirit, your most faithful, humble servant,

FRANCIS BURDETT.

Proceedings at a Meeting of the Freeholders of Middlesex, in the Interest of Mr. Mellich, held at the Freemason's Tavern, October 31, 1806.

This day a numerous Meeting of the Freeholders of Middlesex, desirous of preventing that County
from

from being represented by Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. took place yesterday at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen-street, pursuant to a requisition by advertisement. The business commenced about one o'clock, when sir W. Gibbons was unanimously voted into the Chair. Sir W. Gibbons, in taking the Chair, declared himself highly sensible of the honour conferred on him by calling him to that situation, and of his inability adequately to discharge the duties of it. However, what he wanted in ability should be made up in zeal; and, without troubling the Meeting with any more observations, he should proceed to the business of the day. He then read the advertisement of G. B. Mainwaring, Esq. declining the honour of offering himself as a Candidate for the County of Middlesex.

Mr. BOWLES said, that before they proceeded to what might be considered as the immediate business of the day, he thought it would be right to express their approbation of the firm and manly conduct which G. B. Mainwaring, Esq. had pursued, in having stood forward to support the Freedom of Election, and the Independence of the County of Middlesex, against all the efforts of faction, supported by bribery, corruption, and perjury: he considered that he was also entitled to their thanks for his diligence and his upright and independent conduct while he sat in Parliament as their Representative; he therefore begged leave to propose the following Resolutions, which he trusted would

would be unanimously agreed to. (*See the Resolution*, p. 305.)

Colonel ELLIOT, City Light Horse, seconded the Motion, and spoke in strong terms of panegyric of the firmness with which Mr. Mainwaring, jun. had maintained the rights of the Electors of Middlesex.

Mr. BOWLES said, that he was a witness to the manliness of character displayed by Mr. Mainwaring, when, in support of their rights, he was obliged to face a most desperate mob. He then pledged himself to contend with Sir F. Burdett to the last, hand to hand, and foot to foot, until he should succeed in driving him from the Representation of the County: very little now remained to be done, and he trusted that, upon the present occasion, the independent Electors would gain a complete and signal triumph. The motion of thanks to Mr. Mainwaring, jun. was then carried unanimously.

Mr. MAINWARING, jun. rose to return thanks. He need hardly acquaint the Meeting, that he felt that as one of the happiest moments of his life. However unworthy he might have been of the honour of being one of their Representatives, whatever sense he might feel of his own unworthiness, yet he could not but feel highly gratified at the approbation that his conduct had thus received. When he first solicited the honour of their votes, very little expectations had been formed, either from his character or pretensions. They were, in a great measure, unknown, and many artifices had been used by the opposite party to sink those

those pretensions as low as possible; he, however, knew at that time, that the judgment which would be finally pronounced upon his pretensions would not be from what was said upon the Hustings, but from what he did when he should be in Parliament; he felt proud, indeed, that this final judgment should be in his favour; he had endeavoured rigidly, strictly, and conscientiously to discharge his duty, without turning to the right or to the left. The conviction that he had acted from pure and upright motives was a solace to his mind, but that solace was much increased by the concurrent approbation of the County and the Public. He should trespass no further on their time by speaking of himself, but should congratulate the County on the bright prospect that was now opened to it. He hoped that that discord which had divided the County for so many years would now cease. He expected that it would cease from the Address which had been lately promulgated by the principal champion of the opposite party: he considered that Address like the last farewell of a dying man who had nothing more to say—who knew that he had nothing more to say. He was happy to hear that a most respectable Gentleman would be proposed as a Candidate in opposition to Sir F. Burdett; he should, however, decline to say any thing in praise of that Gentleman, as he thought that he, like every other man, should stand upon his own merits. As to himself, personally, he felt that he had nothing more to do at present than to return them thanks
for

Mr. MAINWARING, sen. after expressing his gratitude for the honour which had long been conferred upon him by the Independent Electors, said, that he had avoided making any public declaration since the dissolution of Parliament, in order to avoid the discord and expence which always attended a contested Election. Previous to the Election of 1802, he had expressed to many friends his desire to retire from Parliament, on account of his many professional considerations but particularly on account of his advanced time of life. He found, however, that, previous to that Election, a plot had been formed to attack him in his private character, and to take the County by surprise, or by storm, out of the hands of those honourable men who had four times returned him to Parliament. Such a plot as this, he conceived himself bound in duty to resist, especially when it was to be carried on by the most shameless bribery and corruption. The scenes which passed at that Election, and the manner in which Sir F. Burdett obtained his return, were well known: he however petitioned against the return, and the Committee decided, that Sir F. Burdett was not duly elected, and that he was duly elected, but still set aside his election, on the ground of the Treating Act. If the zeal of his friends had in some degree overstepped the letter of that law, it was notorious that his opponent had exceeded it twenty times as much, but yet he was allowed to offer himself as a Candidate on a new elec-

tion. The electors, however, had been kind enough to elect his son to that seat which they knew he ought to have had. As in the year 1802, he wished to retire on account of his advanced time of life, that argument was still more powerful now at the latter end of the year 1806. He was glad, however to have an opportunity of proposing to them as a Candidate, a Gentleman of known character, of great opulence and independence; he was one of the first Merchants in the City of London, his connections were of the greatest respectability, and of considerable landed property in the County, where he had ever resided amongst them. The Gentleman that he had to propose was Mr. Wm. Mellish.

Colonel CLITHEROW seconded the nomination of Mr. Mellish, and observed, that after the very able manner in which he had been proposed, he had nothing more to do than to return him his sincere thanks for the honourable and spirited manner in which he had come forward to support the independence of the country.

Mr. BOWLES said, he could not reconcile it to his feelings, to give a silent vote upon the present occasion. He felt, and he wished to impress it upon every Gentleman then present, that this was no ordinary contest, but rather a continuation of that contest which the County had now been engaged in for many years. He could not avoid congratulating the County now on the prospect of a complete triumph. Two battles had already been fought, and two victories obtained. He hoped, however that the present contest would be completely decisive.

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He begged the Gentlemen present would consider what means the party, or rather the faction, which was opposed to the independence of the County, had resorted to, in order to obtain success. They had first attempted to establish their head-quarters in Middlesex, from whence they were to spread themselves all over the land; they wished to make it a sort of vortex, which was to swallow up all true constitutional principles, and the freedom of election throughout this country. The means they took to accomplish their abominable purposes were not to be equalled in the annals of baseness. In the first place they endeavoured to bring into contempt and odium all those institutions by which society is kept together.—The Magistrates of the County of Middlesex were represented as men guilty of the foulest cruelties, tortures, and even murders. To such a serious charge, it might have been supposed there was some degree of foundation, but upon a full investigation before a Committee of the House of Commons, it appeared that there was not a shadow of foundation. The next means that the faction took to secure their object was by bribery and corruption; to procure a number of persons who were not Freeholders to come up and vote as Freeholders. Besides the great manufacture at Isleworth for colourable Freeholders, the whole County was turned into a great work-shop, where every journeyman shoemaker or mechanic that was ready to take his bribe was manufactured into a voter. But besides these fictitious Freeholders, the most open and abominable perjury had been resorted to. This had been fully established in a Court of Justice, and many of

the perjured wretches were now expiating their crime by transportation to Botany Bay. Sir F. Burdett now in his Advertisement does, in point of fact, inform the County that he means to stand merely on the Jacobin interest, and that he disclaims the support of all honourable men. He seemed, however, to be quite desperate of success, and merely wishing to blow up a flame, to excite discord, and to declaim against taxes, which he must know were absolutely necessary to support even the existence of the country. He had ventured a most daring insult upon "The best of Kings." This libel he thought deserved no answer from any Gentleman in the kingdom but one, and that one was the Attorney General. Another watchword of party (which he did not mention) was "The best of Ministers." There was lately in this country a Minister (Mr. Pitt), whose loss was felt every day more severely. He concluded by congratulating the County, that so respectable a Gentleman had presented himself to their choice, whose independence no man could doubt, and who united in himself the characters of the British merchant and the Country Gentleman.

The question was then put upon the nomination of Mr. Mellish, which was carried unanimously.

MR. MELLISH then rose and addressed the Electors: He assured them, that the honour that their approbation had conferred upon him should never be effaced from his recollection. Great as the honour was in itself, he felt that it was much enhanced by the manner in which it had been conferred, and
by

by the unanimity and spirit which had been shown by such a number of the most respectable Electors. They felt, undoubtedly, as he did, that the present was not a new contest, but a continuation of that struggle in which the independent Electors had been, for the last four years, exerting themselves to resist the most infamous system of bribery and corruption which had ever been attempted to be put in practice. The struggle had been tedious, but it had hitherto been crowned with success, and he made no doubt but that the cause of the independence of the County of Middlesex would again triumph over all the artifices and frauds which might be used to support the purposes of a desperate and dangerous faction. The infamy of their proceedings upon the former Elections had been ably stated by Mr. Bowles; but in addition to the past, an advertisement had been lately published by Sir F. Burdett, so infamous, that not only his enemies, but even his friends were disgusted with it. The principles contained in that address are those that we have been contending against for many years; he felt proud to say, that the exertions of the independent Electors had hitherto defeated the person who maintained such principles, and that they had been successful in making him think it necessary to avow such principles; as they, for these many years, were convinced that he did possess principles which must lose him every claim to the support of any honourable man, who is a friend to the Constitution or to his Country. He was convinced that he should, at the next Election, meet with the support of many
who

who had formerly been accustomed to support Sir F. Burdett. He, however, thought it necessary distinctly to declare, that he did not wish for any support, nor would he accept of any support, that should at all be meant to fetter him in the conscientious discharge of his duty, to the best of his judgment, in case he should have the honour of being returned as their Representative to Parliament. He should not disgrace himself by such a support ; he had entered Parliament ten years ago as an independent man, and the line he had constantly pursued hitherto, he should invariably follow in future, if he should have the honour to be chosen as their Representative. Although he had every reason to expect that this course of independence would succeed, yet he advised the Electors not to be too sure of success, and not to think themselves safe until whoever was the object of their choice should actually be returned. In a contest of such vast importance, when the character and independence of the County were at stake, and where so many artifices were likely to be practised against them, the greatest diligence and exertion were necessary on their part. As for himself, should he have the honour of being returned, he pledged himself to a diligent, honest, and faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him.

Mr. WILKES said, that he thought the Meeting ought not to separate without expressing their strongest disapprobation and abhorrence of the principles upon which Sir F. Burdett had claimed their support : he had formerly hoped that the errors of Sir F. rather proceeded from the heat of youth, and that
they

they would be corrected by the maturity of years and experience. In this hope and expectation he was completely disappointed. So far from recovering from his first errors, he appeared advancing with accelerated velocity as he grew older. His last Address was such as to forfeit for him any claim to the support of honourable men of any party. It seemed as if all hope of success had left him, and that his Address was merely the struggle of despair. There appeared now to be a system hostile to every thing that was respectable in the constitution or in the Country. Sir Francis had libelled "the best of Kings," and, as we would repeat, "the best of Patriots;" he could not view this conduct without horror, as it came from a man who professed himself to be a friend of Mr. Fox while he was living, but a posthumous libeller on his character when he was dead. It was now said, that Sir Francis disclaimed even what the law allowed; that he was to solicit no votes nor furnish carriages to the Electors. This was, indeed, a strange alteration in Sir Francis, who, in his former contests, employed, or at least was connected with those who employed, the most abominable system of corruption, bribery, and fraud that was ever practised upon any Election. When this strange alteration was spoken of he would advise the independent Electors to take care that there was not some artifice concealed under this simplicity. He thought that they should bring forth every energy that loyalty, love of their country, and respect for themselves and their children could inspire, in order to succeed triumphantly in this contest.

They

They should shew, that in the present times there is no prevailing political principles but the Constitution; no party but the Country. He concluded by moving Resolutions expressive of disapprobation of the principles of Sir Francis Burdett's Advertisement. (*See the next page.*)

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE expressed a hope that a complete victory would now be obtained over those principles which Sir F. Burdett and his friends dared to avow—principles that had overturned the thrones of princes, and desolated the countries in which they had unfortunately been acted upon. In order to insure this triumph, it would not be sufficient barely to return Mr. Mellish to the House of Commons—to establish him by a numeral majority. The Electors of this Royal County should exert themselves with activity and perseverance—the portals of the House of Commons should be thrown open, and the man of their unbiaſſed choice borne into it in triumph. It had been said, that several of the old friends of Sir Francis would now abandon him. Whether that circumstance was true or false, the Independent Electors of Middlesex should act as if the fact were not certain. This was not a contest merely personal: it was a contest of principles, and upon the issue of it would depend the extinction of those dissensions that had so long distracted the County. At such a crisis as the present, when the last King, that maintained independence on the Continent, was sinking under the arms of the ferocious despoiler of nations, when England was the only remaining bulwark for the liberty of the world, it was peculiarly necessary

necessary that this Royal County should be represented by an honest and independent man. Mr. Mellish would prove that Representative for them, and it was their business to enable him to place himself in that situation in a triumphant manner.

The following Resolutions were then put and carried, viz. " Resolved unanimously, That in the opinion of this Meeting the Thanks of the County are due to G. B. Mainwaring, Esq. for having stood forward at the last Election for the County, in opposition to Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. for the firmness with which he maintained so arduous a contest, and for the assiduity, ability, and patriotism with which he has sustained the character of a Member of Parliament.—That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to W. Mainwaring, Esq. for his long, unwearied and active public services, and for his uniform attention to the interests of the County of Middlesex.—That it is the opinion of this Meeting that William Mellish, Esq. is a fit and proper person to represent the County of Middlesex in Parliament.—That the original pretensions and uniform conduct of Sir F. Burdett, have been invariably offensive to the majority of the Freeholders of this County; but that if the past could have been forgiven, the sentiments contained in his last Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex must irritate the most tranquil mind; every honourable man, of every party; prove him to be disloyal to the best of Kings, inimical to the true interests and glory of the best of countries, and totally unworthy to become our Representative in Parliament.—That this Meeting will, therefore,

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strenuously

strenuously oppose his Election to that situation, and invite the immediate, active and unremitting assistance of every man loyal to his King, devoted to the support of rational and constitutional liberty, and detesting revolutionary principles, perjury, bribery and guilt.—That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Sir W. Gibbons, Bart. for his upright, able and impartial conduct in the Chair.”

“ WILLIAM GIBBONS, Chairman.”

Mr. Mellish's First Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex.

Your late worthy Member, Mr. G. B. Mainwaring having withdrawn himself on the present occasion, I am emboldened to offer myself to your notice, as your Representative, in consequence of the very flattering assurances of support which I have this day received.—Having actively exerted myself during the last four years, in the vindication of your Rights and the preservation of your Independance, and having a lively feeling for the prosperity of the County of Middlesex, in which I have been a resident the whole of my life, I humbly submit my claim to your attention.—I know the futility of professions, I make none—I come forward to resist them, of whose professions you know too much—invincibly attached to the best of Kings, solicitous for the maintenance of the best of Constitutions, I pledge myself to that line of conduct, which an ardent zeal for my Country's welfare cannot fail to inspire.—I have sat in Parliament during the last

ten years, the experience of my past, must be the pledge of my future, conduct. And as I then acted, so shall I continue to act—honestly and independently—with the additional impulse to exertion, which the representation of the first county in the kingdom affords, and with the fullest determination to execute, with diligence and fidelity, the manifold duties its interests require.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Bush-hill Park.

WM. MELLISH.

Resolutions passed at a Meeting of the Middlesex Freeholders' Club, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Oct. 30, 1806.

At a numerous and most respectable Meeting of the Middlesex Freeholders Club, held this day in pursuance of the unanimous Resolution, passed at the last Meeting of the Annual Committee, for the purpose of taking into consideration the most efficacious plan to support the Independence of the County, Christopher Hull, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the manly, plain, and undisguised principles of Sir Francis Burdett are such as do honour to his virtuous and patriotic mind, and ought to endear him and all those representatives who may act and think with him, not only to every free and independent elector of Middlesex, but also to every subject in the united kingdoms.—That this Club do invite Sir F. Burdett to stand forward again as the Champion of the Liberties of the Subject, and engage, at their individual expence, to attend on the first day of the Election at Brentford, to

support his nomination, and will cheerfully devote their time and exertions during the whole fifteen days, (if necessary) in support of his Election upon the principles contained in his advertisement.—That a Subscription be opened in this Club, to which the Freeholders at large be invited to accede, for the purpose of providing carriages for the conveyance of such Freeholders to the Hustings who, through indigence and infirmity may be otherwise disabled from giving their independant suffrages at the approaching Election, and that the Treasurer and Secretary be authorised to receive such Subscriptions.—That these Resolutions, signed by the Chairman, be presented to Sir F. Burdett by the Secretary, and that they be inserted in all the Morning and Evening Papers, signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and otherwise distributed as the Annual Committee may think proper, at the expence of the Club.—The Chairman having quitted the Chair from indisposition, Edward Langley, Esq. was called to the Chair. Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of this Meeting be presented to Christopher Hull, Esq. for his attentive and impartial conduct in the Chair.—That this Club does highly approve of the independent conduct of George Byng, Esq. as Representative of this County, and trusts that, upon this occasion, his friends will unite with those of Sir F. Burdett to procure their joint election,—That Sir F. Burdett and G. Byng, Esq. be invited to dine with this Club on Thursday next, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.

CHRISTOPHER HULL, Chairman.

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That the foregoing Resolutions be signed by the Chairman, and published with the former Resolutions of this day.

EDWARD LANGLEY.

Mr. Byng's Letter to the Chairman of the Middlesex Freeholders' Club.

SIR; *St. James's-square, Nov. 4, 1806.*

I should have felt highly flattered by the Vote of Thanks from the Freeholders assembled at the Crown and Anchor, on the 30th of October, for my parliamentary conduct, if it had not been accompanied with a proposal to join, what they are pleased to term, my interest with Sir Francis Burdett's.—From the commencement of my Canvass (October 20), I have uniformly declared to every Freeholder I had the pleasure of meeting, that I stood alone, unconnected with any other Candidate.—The Address which afterwards appeared from Sir F. Burdett, to the Freeholders of Middlesex, certainly gave me no reason to regret the line of conduct I had pursued—
BUT THE CONTRARY.

Your obedient humble servant,

To Edward Langley, Esq. Chairman G. BYNG.
at a Meeting of Freeholders, as-
sembled at the Crown and Anchor,
October 30.

Sir Francis Burdett's Letter to the Freeholders' Club of Middlesex.

GENTLEMEN;—At length SIR. BYNG, who never was really with us, has ceased to temporize, and,
taking

taking advantage of your undeserved compliment to him, has declared openly against us. It was always to be expected, that such would be his conduct, whenever it should suit the views of his party.—This, Gentlemen, is the short statement of our situation. The politics of George Grenville, the father, lost us America—the politics of George Grenville, the son, have lost us all Europe. To these politics, and to assist in carrying them on, the professing Whigs have lately joined themselves—to their own great emolument, and to the just dismay of the public.—In this conjuncture it is not surprising that Mr. Byng, who belongs to those Whigs, should play into the hands of Mr. Mellish, who belongs to that Grenville, whom they have joined.—I am perfectly aware, that, if I had been silent, I might have been returned for Middlesex without a contest. But I will have no compromise, nor suspected compromise, with such shabby politics. I will not by silence be guilty of the ruin which appears to be fast approaching.—Gentlemen, I will never consent to be returned by the connivance of any Ministers; for I will never connive at their plunder. I desire no seat, but by the unbiassed votes of intelligent and uncorrupt Freeholders. If my principles differ from theirs, I am not fit to be their Representative, and shall not desire it. But I shall wait for their decision, regardless of the intrigues, misrepresentation, and influence of the Coalesced Factions.—I shall ever remain, Gentlemen, faithful to the principles I avow, and to your honest service.

F. BURDETT.

*Resolution of the Middlesex Freeholders' Club,
relative to the Conduct of Mr. Byng.*

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Freeholders of Middlesex Club, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, on Thursday, the 6th November, 1806. William Bosville, Esq. in the Chair.—Resolved unanimously, That the Letter of Mr. Byng addressed to Mr. Langley, in answer to the Resolutions of this Club on Thursday last, is an insult to the Freeholders of this County, and in direct violation of his solemn pledge made to a numerous Meeting on the 29th of July last, assembled to celebrate the Anniversary of the Return of Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Byng, in 1802.—Resolved unanimously, That a Copy of this Resolution be sent to every Member of the Club, who is absent this evening, and that the same be published in all the Newspapers.

W. BOSVILLE, Chairman.

ON SIR F. BURDETT'S ADVERTISEMENTS.

[*From the Morning Chronicle October 31.*]

“ In my opinion it is less dishonourable to be the creature of a Court, than the tool of a faction.”

John Horne Tooke, Junius's Letters, Vol. II.

SIR ;—The period of a General Election has usually been allowed to confer a latitude of profession upon those who present themselves to the favour of the People. The vehement patriotism, and the inflexible

flexible principle to which all lay claim, may charitably be interpreted to mean, that moderate regard for the public interest, which ordinary virtue must feel, and that integrity which common honesty may practice. Every man may be permitted to employ that style of courtship suited to the object of his affections. But in this, as every thing, there is a good and bad style, which distinguishes the taste and the dignity of the parties. There is a language which at once testifies a man's own rank and that of those he addresses, while there is a tone which shews that a man sinks even below his just level for the sake of pleasing.—The Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, which has appeared under the signature of Sir Francis Burdett, has naturally attracted the attention of this metropolis and its neighbourhood. People were anxious to see in what character Sir Francis would now solicit the suffrages of the County of Middlesex. Those who had been hostile to him on former occasions, and still suspected the soundness of his principles, were afraid that he would disarm opposition by a shew of moderation; while those who had supported him, hoped, that now, emancipated from that pernicious influence by which his unsuspecting youth had been overpowered, and with a love of liberty, regulated, not impaired, by experience and reflection, he would stand forward upon constitutional principles, to which every honest patriot would assent, and to which no unbiassed man could refuse his approbation. It is with the utmost mortification that as one who hoped well of him, I have been extremely disappointed.

In

In his election address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, as well as in his letter respecting the vacancy for Westminster, there are displayed principles as inconsistent with the acknowledged doctrine of the Constitution, as they are irreconcilable with any virtuous intentions in him who avows them.—It has always been permitted, and may well be indulged to an ardent mind, to descant upon the blessings of freedom, the proneness of power to abuse, the just jealousy of the Crown, and the necessity of economy and controul. But when all government is attacked, when discontent is excited, not against the Ministry, but all Ministers, as if Government were the evil, and Anarchy the remedy ; when civil authority is represented as a conspiracy against the rights of the People, and Administration the pillagers of their property, it is difficult not to conclude, either that the man who writes so is devoid of sense, or that he cherishes the most pernicious designs.—It sometimes has been the practice with pretenders to popular favour to impose upon themselves a voluntary disqualification for the public service, in any other character than that of a Representative of the People. Such men have rarely obtained much credit for their sincerity, nor have they often justified their professions by their constancy. But though even in these cases the right of a man to disable himself for the public service in the way in which he is perhaps calculated to be most useful, is totally irreconcilable with patriotism and duty ; yet the disqualification is personal, and those who have been the most ready to renounce the temptation of office have been those

who could well be spared. It is a different thing, however, for the political Monk to make the vain and ostentatious vow of political chastity, and to compel others to celibacy. Let men of this distempered fancy withdraw their contributions from the service of society if they will, and enjoy the praise which may follow their self-denial and their sanctity. Let them not, however, arrogantly devote to censure those who, with intentions as pure as theirs, embrace a wider field of activity and of usefulness. It is presumption even for Sir F. Burdett to assert, that to be a fit and faithful Representative of the People is incompatible with the functions of a Minister, as if the integrity and talents that constitute a great Statesman ought to incapacitate a man to be a Member of the House of Commons.—Among all the projects of reform, it never, I believe, was seriously proposed by any visionary, that the Members of Executive Government should be excluded from the House of Commons. The project, indeed, of sending a Minister to the bar of a popular assembly, of which he is not a member, to propose Legislative arrangements, was tried by the first French Constitution, and the world knows the success of the experiment.—A similar plan was proposed, and with some exceptions carried, in the self-denying ordinance which paved the way for Cromwell's usurpation. Indeed, such a plan can serve only to promote, as it seems intended, in the present occasion, either personal ambition or general confusion.—It would strip the House of Commons of many of its most able Members, and it would leave the whole body a prey
either

either to ignorance or to faction. Public measures could not be carried without the assistance and explanation of those with whom they originate, and a number of popular declaimers, aiming at distinction and power, would necessarily convert the House of Commons into a tumultuous assembly, alike unfit for sober controul or wise legislation. The functions of the House of Commons do not suppose a rivalry and hostility to the Executive power. The powers of the House of Commons are so great that the Government could not exist a week if that body refused to co-operate with the Executive Magistrate. There must be a unity of intention, and a joint co-operation, in order to preserve Government. When that co-operation does not exist the Ministers must be changed. But if it were ever to happen that the House of Commons and the Executive Government ceased to sympathise and co-operate, the form of the Government itself must be altered. If all Ministers and Placemen were excluded from the House of Commons, one of two things would ensue—either the House of Commons, being the Representative of the People, possessed of the whole authority of the State, or (what is nearly the same) the authority to suspend all other Authorities, would, of necessity, become predominant,—or a system of corruption or force would reduce it to be an inferior and degraded appendage of the Executive Power, efficient, as a tool, but impotent as a controul. It is only by blending the rights of the People with the prerogatives of the Crown that the House of Commons is a useful assistant of the Executive, and an efficient controul

for the People. Every thing is mixed in our Government. There is no hostility between the component parts. Concord of the different orders, is the rule; opposition, is the exception. If it were not so, the British constitution would be a system of anarchy. What is called Opposition in this country is of individuals, not of orders. In the present Government of France the ministers are not members of the Legislative councils, and they are contemptible. In the former experiment the Convention was a theatre of faction. But does Sir Francis mean to adopt the vulgar sentiment, that every man who engages in the service of Executive Government forfeits his pretensions to the public confidence?—In what age or country has the service of the State been held incompatible with the duties of a Patriot? The functions of a minister, or of an inferior Placeman may be either useful or mischievous to the State, according as they are exercised. To condemn all Ministers and all Placemen indiscriminately, has been the malignant cant of the worst of men. It has been truly said, “that he who accuses all mankind of corruption, convicts only one.” If those who are invested with power, employ it to the oppression or destruction of the State, let them be driven from office with disgrace and punishment; but, the trivial ribaldry about Placemen, is as inconsistent with justice, as it is with all government. The administration of affairs must be entrusted to some. Even if the management of the Empire were to be committed to Sir Francis, or to his Preceptor, the inferior departments must be occupied by

by other patriots; they must be paid for their services, for, I believe, there are very few of Sir F. Burdett's friends that could afford to serve their country for nothing. Bonaparte has his Talleyrand, Cromwell had his Whitelocke's and Thurloe's. Those who rail at Placemen, are either hypocrites who aim at power, by professing to despise it, or fools with whom it would be useless to reason. It is a representation of public men, no less invidious than false—that the temptation of gain is their principal object. In every pursuit, as well as in politics, love of gain is but one of the principles of action. Every day we see men either neglect, or throw it away, for the gratification of other passions. It was not the love of money that made Sir Francis squander 30 or 40,000*l.* in his contests for Middlesex. It was patriotism without question; and the same patriotism now advises him to be more saving of his money. In politics, however, men may be stimulated by motives more criminal than the love of place or of money. They may be gratified at seeing themselves the idols of a faction, and the admiration of the mob. They may consider the shouts of a rabble more valuable than the smiles of a Court. Nay, they may, like Cromwell and other hypocrites, make an exaggerated profession of purity and disinterestedness, merely to secure the absolute authority at which they aim.—Some of Sir F. Burdett's friends apologise for his indiscretions at the expence both of his pride and his understanding. They say that the advertisements he has published bear unequivocal marks both of the cool
malignity

malignity of his master's character, and the epigrammatic sarcasm of his stile. If this apology be well founded, I can pity Sir Francis, who beyond the age of pupilage, can descend to be the channel through which another man's venom shall be distributed. But I confess that the friends of Mr. Fox have a right to be surprised at the obloquy thrown upon Mr. Fox, when dead, if they believed that Sir Francis respected him when living. I acquit Sir Francis, however, of every thing but hypocrisy. He and those about him neither loved Mr. Fox living nor honour his memory when dead. But they would have taken his countenance if they could have obtained it, and frequently laboured to entrap his authority in favour of objects and principles which his heart and his judgment equally disapproved. Sir Francis presents himself as the Candidate for Middlesex; and what are his pretensions? He sneers at a trivial expression, "the best of Kings." I am sure I cannot tell of what party this phrase is the watch-word. But Sir Francis must have learnt at Wimbledon, at least to speak respectfully of the first magistrate. John Horne Tooke, who would have "discharged his piece into Charles the First's bosom, rather than into any other man's," would have been as polite as a courtier. "He would have used daggers but *speak* none." There was a time when John Horne Tooke professed to think, that "*whoever or whatever is Sovereign, demands the respect and support of the people — The union is formed for their mutual happiness, which cannot be had without mutual respect;*

respect ; and he counsels maliciously who would persuade either to a wanton breach of it." This is sense and truth, though from the pen of Horne Tooke ; and he must indeed be of the Cynic School who takes offence at an expression (be it of flattery), which, however, is too common-place to be employed with taste or applied with effect. As pitiful are the observations upon the "best of Patriots." Far from trying to vindicate the justice of that title bestowed upon Mr. Fox, from the sneers of Sir F. Burdett, I leave to the British Nation to decide upon the claim and the objection. There is a custom at Rome, that when a Saint is to be added to the Calendar, a personage is appointed to oppose the claimant, with the character of l' Avvocato del Diavolo. I do not propose Mr. Fox for political canonization ; but if such a thing is ever brought forward, Sir F. Burdett may execute the office of the Devil's Attorney. It is quite impossible that Sir Francis, upon the grounds he has stated, can expect to be elected Member for Middlesex. No man that loves or respects the Constitution, can vote for him who boldly avows principles incompatible with all Government ; who rails against taxes which cannot be decreased, and who speaks of our situation in a stile to encrease rather than to lessen our danger. Will Bonaparte grant terms of peace to Sir F. Burdett ? Would Sir F. Burdett's politics take off a single impost, unless by that universal confusion of a national bankruptcy, which some of his friends recommend, and which would be the inevitable result

result of his conduct? But in truth I am surprised at some parts of the address while I am pleased. Yet to ask no vote! to distribute no ribband! to excite no riot! This indeed is a change. But, *upon my honour*, I should have thought Sir F. Burdett the last man on earth to boast of this forbearance. What! After the ribbands, the tumults, the carriages, the profusion of two elections, not a vote asked, a cockade distributed, or a carriage allowed! Sir F. Burdett, the Idol of the rabble, all at once set up for a Coriolanus! Ask votes! canvass!

To beg of Hob and Dick! ———

————— Rather than fool it so,

Let the high office and the honour go

To one that would do thus. ———

I cannot with satisfaction pursue the examination farther. It grieves me to see a Gentleman like Sir F. Burdett, who might have been the respected supporter or the formidable opponent, of any Minister, to act as to render support injurious and opposition unavailing. He appears disposed to link himself with the most desperate adventurers, and to seek for consolation in the applause of the lowest or the vilest of men. I would hope that Sir Francis cannot enjoy the approbation of his own mind; he may yet retrace his steps; and I trust that even still a renunciation of his errors will secure to him the esteem of his country and of himself.

PORTIUS.

Mr.

Mr. WHITBREAD'S LETTER to Sir FRANCIS
BURDETT, Bart.

DEAR SIR,

I have received a circular letter bearing your signature, and accompanied by an Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, upon the grounds contained in which alone, you ask my support at the present Election for that County. I am sorry to tell you, that, upon those grounds, I feel it impossible to comply with your request. Having twice had the honour to poll for you at Brentford—having anticipated the pleasure of seeing you re-elected without opposition, or of using my utmost exertions in your favour, and having a great personal respect for you, I cannot conceal the mortification I feel at being compelled to adopt this line of conduct; nor can I refrain from pointing out to you some of those passages of the Address which make it incumbent on me to withhold the support I have hitherto been happy to afford you. You assume that two parties in the state have joined, not for the purpose of bettering the condition of the people, but with a base and scandalous intention of pillaging those whom they are called to rule, and are bound to protect. It would have been well if you, who have called for details, had pointed out the particular instances which justify such an assertion to your mind; in order that persons, as independent of the present, and every other administration, as yourself, might have had an opportunity of more correctly judging

how far they had been deceived as to the past, and what precautions they ought to take for the future. I have supported the present administration from a conviction that they were united upon principles of real public utility, and for the purpose of carrying into execution plans of great national improvement, both in our foreign and domestic circumstances ; and I cannot abandon them, because in a situation more difficult than that in which any of their predecessors have ever stood, they have not been able to effect, what I believe, to have been nearest the hearts of them all—I mean a peace with France ; seeing such a peace could not have been obtained upon terms consistent with national honour, and because time has not sufficed to mature and execute the schemes of internal improvement, which they have manifested their determination to pursue.—You assume, that whenever the leaders of contending parties in a state unite, that it never is in favour of the people ; and that the history of the world bears evidence of the truth of your assertion. It appears to me that the doctrine you maintain—that the political animosities of honest men must be irreconcilable—is most fatal to the existence of a popular government ; and if carried to the extreme, must tend to the subjugation of the country, or to the abandonment of liberty, in order to obtain security from foreign conquest : and to history I refer you for the fact, that if the heads of discordant parties could not be united in the cause of the people, the Revolution of 1688, in which we glory, could

not

not have been brought about. You assert that a double imposture is now attempted upon the People; and you ascribe to each of two parties a watch word, neither of which I have found to be in use. I have no hesitation, however, in saying, that attached as I am by preference to the more popular parts of our Constitution, I consider the Throne as indispensibly necessary to the perpetuity of our liberties, by preventing any usurpation upon them by individuals, either of the aristocratical or democratical estate: but however a Sovereign ruling these kingdoms may be personally beloved, his name cannot be brought in question, nor his virtues, however eminent, stated, in order to give strength to the Ministers he may have appointed, without a violation of the dignity of all the Constitutional Powers, and I am not aware that such has been the practice now. Neither do I know that the other watch-word, as you term it, has been used, for any sinister purpose. If the friends and admirers of the late Mr. Fox have, upon every occasion, both public and private, spoke of his transcendant merits in the most forcible language their imaginations could supply, I will venture to say, they have in no one instance been able adequately to express their sense of his worth, or the poignancy of their grief, for the irremediable loss which has been sustained. The term, “the best of Patriots” is, in my estimation, of right pre-eminently his; and if you would condescend to refer to the particulars of his glorious and active life, you would find that, for near forty years, he was the most assiduous

duous and disinterested servant any country ever possessed; that he withstood every encroachment attempted upon public liberty; that he proposed innumerable measures for the relief and prosperity of the people; that he obtained some, and endeavoured to obtain many more, diminutions of restraint upon civil and religious freedom; that he did his utmost, and was capable of doing far more than any other individual, by his own personal exertions, could ever do, to prevent wars, which he thought neither just nor necessary, and to obtain or preserve peace, when he thought it could be either achieved or continued with security and honour; that, in the pursuit of the great objects he had in view, he was insensible to all that could intimidate, all that could tempt, all that could persuade minds of an ordinary stamp; and that, in the cause of the People, which he had espoused, he was proof against the allurements of ambition, wealth, power, popularity, and friendship itself.—In the paths of his political wisdom and integrity I desire to walk; and if you are not only not alive to his merits as the best of patriots, but propose to yourself means of rescuing your Country from the difficulties of its present situation, totally different from those which Mr. Fox would have pursued, had he lived to counsel us in this hour of trial, you must pardon me for saying, that such an avowal decides me against giving you my vote.—I do not perceive in your present address any allusion to an opinion promulgated by you on the late Election for Westminster, which is,

“ that

“ that a person holding an office under the Crown,
“ however otherwise estimable, cannot at any time
“ become the fit representative of a free, uncorrupt
“ and independent people ;” if such opinion be
founded in truth, which I utterly deny, a law ought
to be passed to exclude all the executive servants
of Government from seats in either House of Par-
liament. I have not heard that it was in the con-
templation of any one to propose such a measure,
and if proposed, I am sure it would meet with resist-
ance from all descriptions of persons, who have
the power or the will to reason upon its conse-
quences. The people, by the acceptance of your
doctrine, would reduce themselves to the hard ne-
cessity of being governed by the worst of mankind ;
for if they absurdly brand every man with disgrace
the moment he becomes the official servant of his
Majesty, they will render that service disreputable,
and of course disgusting to every honest and inde-
pendent mind.—Then, only, can a public man be
said to have forfeited his honour or independence,
when he shall have accepted or retained a place at
the expence of public principle, or for a dereliction
of public duty.—These radical differences render it
impossible for me to assist you in becoming a Mem-
ber of Parliament. Respective opinions may be
maintained consistently with mutual and entire per-
sonal respect; such I unfeignedly profess towards
you.—The determination you have taken to avoid
the expence of conveyance and decorations, so
conspicuous at your former elections, does you hon-
our,

nour, and I wish such an example could be followed by all other Candidates.—The freedom of your letter and address precludes the necessity of any apology for the openness and detail of my observations; I have therefore only to add, that I am, Dear Sir,
Your very obedient humble servant,

Southill,

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

Nov. 5, 1806.

Your printed letter and address reached me only to-day.

FIRST DAY.

Monday, November 10, 1806.

This day at an early hour, the candidates for the County of Middlesex, attended by their friends, arrived at Brentford. The business commenced at ten o'clock. The usual proclamations being made, Mr. Byng was proposed by Mr. Tuffnell, who was seconded by Mr. Bacon. Sir Francis Burdett was proposed by Mr. Timothy Brown (Mr. Whitbread's partner), and seconded by Mr. Holden. Mr. Mellish was proposed by Sir W. Gibbon, and seconded by Colonel Clitherow.

Mr. BYNG then addressed the Electors as follows:
 " Gentlemen, Freholders of the County of Middlesex. Having had the honour of serving you in the three last Parliaments, [*a great deal too long, was called out from all parts*]. I come forward with the confidence of an honest servant to demand your support, [*Oh, oh! DEMAND, indeed! he feels that he is backed by the ministry*]. I mean, Gentlemen, I come forward to request your support to replace me in the same honourable and distinguished situation. I have served you with zeal and fidelity. I feel conscious that I have not in one single instance deviated from those principles [*what principles? when did you ever give proof of any principles?*] which first recommended me to your favour. Those principles have always taught me that I was sent to Parliament to serve you, the people of England, and not myself. [*No, nor your party neither.*] Those principles

ciples have taught me to be an uniform opposer of corruption. Those principles will ever teach me to oppose every abuse, and to support the best of Kings. [*Cant, cant! base misrepresentation!*] Gentlemen, during the whole of my canvass, I have uniformly declared to every Freeholder I have had the pleasure of meeting, that I stood alone, unconnected with any other candidate, because, I felt that I could be responsible only to you for every part of my conduct, and for my own language, but not for the conduct or language of any other candidate. [*Cant! cant! misrepresentation.*] Gentlemen, it has been said that I have played the game of Mr. Mellish. I beg leave explicitly to declare, that I have rendered Mr. Mellish no service. [*Nor any body else, I dare say, exclaimed a Freeholder.*] Gentlemen, if I am to point out the man who has rendered Mr. Mellish the greatest service, it is the Hon. Bart. Sir Francis Burdett. It has been the avowal of his principles, from which I dissent, that has brought forward a decided and marked opposition to his Election. Gentlemen, having said thus much, I beg leave again to repeat to you that I stand alone, unconnected with any other candidate. I will either stand or fall by my own principles. [*You'll fall then!*] I wish, Gentlemen, in the present arduous crisis to lend my aid and assistance to the present Government; but I beg leave to state, that I shall not be guided in my parliamentary conduct by any private affection for their persons. Their public conduct alone will determine me, and I shall not be guided by any motive of interest or ambition, but by a motive as powerful, I mean

mean an extreme share of vanity to—[*No professing Whig! No peerage hunting Whig! Where is the Parliamentary Reform you promised us? Where are all the pledges of the Whig-Club? Off! off! No Byng! No Byng!*] Gentlemen, I beg leave to state, that whenever the question of a Parliamentary Reform is brought forward, consistently with the principles of our Constitution—[*Another burst of indignation drowned the sound of his over strained voice, and he retired under a loud and general cry of, no Byng! no professing Whig! no Turn-coat! His reception was full as mortifying as Mr. Sheridan's had been at Covent Garden.*"]

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT advanced in front of the Hustings, and, amidst reiterated plaudits, addressed the Freeholders in the following words: "Gentlemen, Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, I shall state to you, as shortly as I can upon this occasion, and with the same plainness and sincerity upon every occasion, as I think myself bound to do when called upon by the public, my sentiments with regard to the state of politics and party in this country. Mr. Byng has told you that he offers himself to your notice on those principles which first recommended him to it. It would have been well if Mr. Byng had stated to you what those principles were. [*Great applause.*] Where are we to look for them? Who knows what are the principles of Mr. Byng? Do any of you? [*No, no, no!*] Gentlemen, I am neither surprised or displeased at the conduct of Mr. Byng on this occasion, *but quite contrary*. It is not inconsistent with the conduct he has all along professed. You know that Mr. Byng is a SUMMER INSECT, and

LOVES THE SUN. [*A general burst of applause.*] But I must allow, that if Mr. Byng has not stated his principles on this, any more than on any former occasion, he has stated his pretensions to your support with a degree of modesty which I suppose you will hardly think entitles him to it. For he calls for your support—on what grounds? That you have returned him three times to Parliament, and that he never voted against you. What! are members ever returned to Parliament to vote against their constituents? Have we arrived at such a pitch of degradation that for a man not to have betrayed his constituents, is to be put forth as a claim to the approbation of the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex? It would be easy to shew, that, if Mr. Byng has not incurred the sin of *commission*, he has at least incurred the sin of *omission*, which is, perhaps, not less prejudicial to the public than the other. Where was Mr. Byng when the question was brought forward relative to the abuses in the Cold-bath-fields prison? Does that, or not, interest the Electors of the County of Middlesex? Are they not at the expence of maintaining it? Have not they suffered, and do they not still suffer, for the infamous practices which, to the eternal disgrace of the county, were and are permitted to take place within its dreary walls? [*It was never proved—its a stale story.*] Freeholders, a Gentleman among the crowd says that the old stale story of the Bastille is going to be revived; I am sorry it is; I have endeavoured to prevent it, but Mr. Byng has not. [*Plaudits.*] Now, Gentlemen, permit me to ask you, Whether this great and principal claim

to the confidence of the County of Middlesex has not been recently put forward by one of the Band of Patriots to which Mr. Byng belongs? I ask you, whether it has not been stated by Mr. Sheridan, as the ground of that support he expects from the Electors of Westminster, *that he alone stood forward and supported me upon the question of the Cold-bath-fields prison?* Can these Gentlemen, who attempt to interrupt me, think to bear me down by saying, that no abuses existed, that they do not now exist, and that I have merely sought, by raising a clamour and exciting the popular feeling, to bring myself in for the County of Middlesex? It is, Gentlemen, now plain and apparent;—and happy I am to have this opportunity of proving what I at first asserted—[*It is untrue, exclaimed a person upon the Hustings.*] The Gentleman behind me denies what I was going to say, even before he has heard it. I was going to state, that you have had, in my present conduct, a convincing proof, that if my object had been personal,—if I had merely been ambitious of the honour of becoming the Representative for the County of Middlesex, I might easily have been so—nay, that I might have been brought in without any opposition. [*Yes, you certainly could, said several!*] It has been stated, as the opinion of Mr. Byng, that I have performed the greatest possible service for Mr. Mellish.—Gentlemen, let the consequence be what it may, neither a seat in Parliament for the County of Middlesex, nor any thing else in the power of Government to bestow, shall ever make me desert those principles, which I am thoroughly convinced must ultimately prove the sole means of

the salvation of the country. [*Loud plaudits were re-echoed on all sides.*]—Freeholders of the County; I have besides another confirmation of what some of the Gentlemen around me think proper to deny, I have the *Official Declaration*, for so I must call the letter of Mr. Whitbread (*see p. 321.*) the brother-in-law of Lord Howick, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, a man whom I think I may now venture to denominate the head of that BAND of PATRIOTS to which Mr. Byng belongs,—I have it from him, that he had no doubt I should be brought in for the county. But Gentlemen, I thought it my duty to disdain *Ministerial Support*; I still think it so, and I do not repent my determination; for I look to no other object but to speak the truth, whenever the public interest calls upon me, [*incessant plaudits.*] Gentlemen, the letter of Mr. Whitbread I confess I at first thought a handsome mode of proceeding towards me, and I wrote to him to thank him for justifying his conduct in declining to support my cause. I was obliged to him; because I felt, that, if he did not approve of my principles, I did not want his support; nor would I have accepted it.—[*Bravo! bravo!*]—Now, Gentlemen, since I have seen that letter—which I considered a personal justification to me—published to the world, I must look at it in a very different point of view. I consider it as the *Official Declaration* of the late Patriot, but present Minister, against me, and I regret to say, I think it altogether unworthy of the quarter from whence it came. But I trust I shall, when I have somewhat more leisure, state at large my opinion

nion of that extraordinary publication, and of all the matter it contains. I flatter myself I shall expose its sophistry, and prove, even to demonstration, that it is as utterly destitute of historical truth, as it is of constitutional principles. [*Loud and unanimous applause.*]

—Gentlemen, Mr. Whitbread tells us that the administration, of which he is so conspicuous a supporter, *have not yet formed their projected schemes of reform, internal and external.* Thus, it appears they have *schemes* in agitation. Now, what is the absurd outcry raised against me? That I am a *schemer*. That I have *schemes* which I wish to execute. Believe me, Gentlemen, and it is the sacred assurance of an honest, independent, and, I trust, virtuous man, I have no schemes; I meditate no innovation; I want nothing but the Constitution of England, my beloved country; I want the whole of that Constitution, and nothing but that Constitution. [*Universal plaudits.*]

We have the good fortune to live in a country, which is pre-eminent over the rest of the world. That we have so invaluable an inheritance is to be attributed to our having a Constitution, traced out originally for ourselves. To preserve it inviolate, we have only to take care not to abandon it, or the principles which form its basis. But I maintain, that our boasted constitution is an incongruity, if the people have not their fair representation in Parliament.

[*Acclamations and shouts of approbation.*]

—It is asked, what do I complain of, in the conduct of the coalesced parties? Would I have no minister? Is the office of a minister a disqualification which precludes his representing an uncorrupt people? Gentlemen,

I have

I have said no such thing; but I do object to a minister representing a free and independent city or county. The question is not, Whether ministers should be in Parliament, but, *whether the Parliament should be composed entirely of court pensioners and placemen?* If these men will accept of places and offices under the crown, let them not show themselves upon those hustings, from whence the people look to be represented by men as independent as themselves. [*Bursts of applause.*] Let them go to court boroughs; let them not throw every other man out of some share of that representation which still remains uncorrupt.—Gentlemen, there is another objection to this *Coalition Administration*. They say, they have not yet matured their *schemes*. True; but though they have done nothing for the public, they have done something for themselves. They have matured their own *Pensions, Ministerial Offices, and Sinecure Places*. [*Excessive plaudits.*] They have matured all their objects of Party. But, they say they have not matured any thing for the public. I will tell you one thing they have done: they have assigned a magnificent palace, at the end of Catherine-street, to the Manager of Drury-lane Theatre. They have given him no small share of the public money--and for what *services* the Devil only knows! [*A mixture of excessive laughter and applause.*]—Gentlemen, in the short period of time since this BAND OF PATRIOTS have coalced, they have reduced the country, internally and externally, to a more perilous situation even than they found it. Yet they have the barefaced impudence to tell you, that they have not matured their *schemes*. What do I complain of? They allow they

have performed no Services; but they have taken the Reward of Services. [*Hear! Hear! Hear! General acclamations.*] I say, that they should not take the Reward, unless the Service goes hand in hand with it [*True exclaimed many voices.*].—These, Gentlemen, are my principles. They are applicable to all governments, for the same abuses must be inimical to every government, let their forms be what they may. These, of whom I have been speaking, are the best friends any of our enemies can have; for, if they wantonly dissipate the resources of the country, how are those resources to be found, when they are wanted for its defence? [*Incessant applause*].—Gentlemen, I observe, that Mr. Whitbread, in his Manifesto, has not followed the same principles and motives in his public capacity which actuate his *private* conduct. I find nothing of the kind in his Letter to me. What does he do in his *private* concerns? He never pays his men till they have performed their labour. He sees the beer they brew before he gives them the reward for brewing it. I believe he rewards them liberally; but never till they have done their duty.—With respect to Mr. Byng and his principles, I can say nothing, because it is a secret to me what they are. If I could find them out, and they appeared to me to be likely to be of the least benefit to the public, I should be the first man to withdraw and give Mr. Byng my vote. [*You have not got a vote, exclaimed Mr. Byng: several persons cried out, For shame, for shame, Byng?*] Mr. Byng does not believe I have got a vote. He is mistaken. He would find I have one.—Now, Gentlemen, what is it that has called
down

down on my head the *coalesced Powers* of the *Coalescing Parties*? What is it, *but my doing my duty by you, and not conniving at what I consider their mal-practices.* [*Loud plaudits.*] Gentlemen, *I never will connive at them.* I care not for a Seat in Parliament, if it is so to be obtained. Gentlemen, when I am before the public I will do my duty, but, *I will have no connivance with ministers, neither will I ever consent to share in their guilt, or their plunder."* [*Long and repeated applause followed this speech, in which applause no small part of Mr. Mellish's friends joined; and they clearly appeared to prefer Sir Francis Burdett to Mr. Byng.*]

MR. MELLISH.—Gentlemen. Freeholders of this county, I crave your silence for a few moments. I shall not make near as long a speech as the hon. baronet. I am convinced you will hear what I have to say, because the hon. baronet's speech is rather a personal attack on my conduct, which I am sure you will think I ought to clear up. In my address to you, I have told you the manner in which I came forward to offer myself as one of your representatives. My opinion remains the same as it was, in direct opposition to the hon. baronet. I have been accused of joining Mr. Byng. Now I assure you I have not joined any body. I have neither joined Sir F. Burdett or Mr. Byng. I have been told by Mr. Byng, that Sir. F. Burdett has done me all the good he could. This the hon. baronet does not deny; but I am not to be so lulled as to conceive that the hon. baronet can have that affection for me and my cause as is pretended. I have been, I do not mean personally, but with regard to his political principles, one

of the greatest enemies he ever had. [*No, no, no! You are unable to be his enemy! He never heard of you in his life, till within this week!*] I am proud to think differently from him. It is impossible I can conceal that some of Sir F. Burdett's friends have promised to vote for me. Now, gentlemen, Mr. Byng having told you that I have not joined him, there can be no doubt as to the fact. I declare I have not joined him; I have not joined the hon. baronet. If I am not stating what is true, he is here to contradict me. I make no professions; I do not say that I will support this or that government. [*What! are there MANY governments, then? Who did you learn that of?*] I will support the measures, but not the men. I come forward, I hope as an honest and independent man. If you catch me tripping, should I be the successful candidate, you will have the means of punishment in your power. To be sure, it will be a few years hence. Was I not confident I should do my duty, I would not think of coming forward to disgrace myself and you. I come forward to preserve the Best of Kings; [*No cant! no shameful cant! no hypocrite! you preserve the King indeed! a Bank Director preserve the King!*] We all know what he has done—we know his aimable qualities, and it would be unbecoming to attempt to describe them. I come forward to preserve the constitution, in the words of the hon. baronet, the whole constitution. I come forward to preserve the country, because I love it. [*Well you may! you fatten upon it! But why don't you pay your Bank of England notes in cash?*] There is one thing more I wish to mention. I think it was wrong

to bring forward the Bastile. It was infamous and disgraceful to bring it forward during the two last elections. Gentlemen, to assume the ability to find words to express my feelings for having been nominated, would be an insult to your understandings, I have lived all my life in the county? [*and what good have you done in it?*] I have lived on my own estate. I hope the freeholders of the county know my character, and are convinced that I am both honest and independent."

The three candidates were then separately put in nomination by the sheriff. *The shew of hands was decidedly in favour of Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. and Mr. Mellish*, and the sheriff accordingly declared the same. A poll was immediately demanded on behalf of Mr. Byng, and the court adjourned.

CHARACTER OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT ;

BY HIS FRIEND WM. COBBETT.

"It was our intention to have entered into a refutation of certain political doctrines which Sir F. Burdett has published and posted through the county of Middlesex ; but, upon closer examination, we find them to proceed upon notions so completely subversive of the Laws and Government of the country, that any controversy with him must necessarily have for its object to prove *the inexpediency of destroying the Monarchy of England*. To reason with such a man would be absurd ; he must be treated with silent contempt, or be combated with weapons very different

different from a pen. We declare our abhorrence of the principles and conduct of the man, who, in alluding to the British Government, speaks of *hired* Magistrates, Parliaments, and *Kings*; we detest and loath Sir F. Burdett; we would trample upon him for his false, base, and insolent insinuations and assertions, respecting his and our Sovereign," &c. &c. &c.—*Cobbett's Annual Register*, Vol. II. p. 151. "The Political Register" (of Mr. Cobbett) "is the only publication that I have seen or heard of, wherein men expect to meet with authenticity of statement and impartiality of insertion."—Mr. Paull's letter to Lord Folkestone.—*Cobbett's Political Register*, Oct. 25th, 1806.

MR. COBBETT'S VINDICATION OF SIR F. BURDETT.

A passage has been quoted, from the Register of 1802, wherein I severely reproached Sir Francis Burdett for having in one of his Addresses to the Freeholders, made use of the phrase, "*hired Magistrates, Parliaments, and Kings*;" a phrase highly improper, in my opinion, both *then* and *now*; though I shall not maintain, that, in my comments upon it, I was entirely uninfluenced by that strong prejudice, which had been created in my mind, with regard to his motives; to which must be added, that the situation of England and of Europe, with respect to political doctrines, was, at that time, very different from what it is now, when all the terrors of democracy are turned into errors of universal despotism. But, it should not be forgotten, that, in 1802, I had been but about

18 months in England, after a long war, carried on with great zeal, against republicans in a foreign country, where, let it be observed, every republican was a sworn enemy, not only of the king of England, but of England itself. Upon my return to England, I naturally fell into a literary acquaintance, consisting entirely of men who were the political enemies of Sir F. Burdett. Several of these had corresponded with me while I was in America; and, it was not until long after my return to England, that I found, to my utter astonishment, that *every one of them*, received, and had long been receiving, in one shape or another, considerable sums of money annually from the government; that is to say, out of the taxes raised upon the people. Amidst such a circle of acquaintance it was not likely, that, with all my independence of mind, and with as strong an inclination, as falls to the lot of any writer, to speak the truth upon every subject; amidst such a circle it was not likely that I should very soon arrive at the truth; and, from the acquaintances alluded to, I imbibed what was, I dare say, their sincere opinion, that Sir F. Burdett, in his representations with respect to the solitary prison in Cold Bath Fields, was actuated by no other motive than that of regard for the *Mutineers*, who were, or had been, confined there, and that that regard was founded on an approbation of their treasonable designs. Thus thinking, it is not at all surprizing, that, as far as I was able, I opposed him in his *first* contest for Middlesex. During the *second* contest I made no observations, on one side or the other; and the reasons were these:

FIRST,

FIRST, in no part of his parliamentary conduct had I seen any thing to censure, but in many parts of it much to commend; SECOND, that a most foul misrepresentation of his speech upon the County Address, relative to the present War, had excited in my mind a great degree of indignation against his enemies; THIRD, that I had had time to perceive, that the most bitter of his enemies, not excepting my own acquaintances above alluded to, were, to a man, placemen or pensioners, or both at once, and that the far better half of their *loyalty*, was, in fact, a love of the public money; but, a FOURTH reason, and a reason more powerful than all the rest put together, was, that I had, by this time, learnt from the lips of Mr. Reeves, that shocking abuses had really existed in the Solitary Prison, and that he himself had been the first to complain thereof, in his capacity of magistrate. The subject of Mr. Reeves's complaint was the treatment of Despard, who was then confined in the prison; and, the description which he gave me of that treatment, though he seemed to think that Sir F. Burdett's complaints were not founded, convinced me that those complaints were not, without further inquiry, to be treated as groundless. With these impressions upon my mind it was, that I made, with regard to the second Middlesex Election, and after the contest was over, those remarks which will be found in Vol. IV. of the Register: and which remarks, had Sir F. Burdett been a hunter after popularity, would very soon have produced a personal acquaintance between us. But, the fact is, that no communication of any kind, either direct or indirect,

indirect, ever took place between him and me, until some time, I believe, in the month of March last, when we first met from causes purely accidental; and I must confess, that an unsolicited meeting had long been wished for on my part. I have before expressed, in general terms, my opinion, and, indeed, my thorough conviction, that, in the whole kingdom, there is not a man more attached to the kingly government and the whole of the constitution of England, than Sir F. Burdett. But, I must now beg leave to state, somewhat in detail, the information which, upon the subject of the Solitary Prison, the hon. baronet has had the condescension to furnish me with, and which, had I been furnished with it previous to 1802, would have made me his eulogist at that time. The English newspapers which reached me in America, and the representations made to me upon my return to England, exhibited Sir Francis as a person, who, from mere love of the conduct of the *Mutineers*, officiously visited them in their cells. But the fact, though so studiously concealed by *all* the newspapers, was, that Sir Francis was led to that prison by a letter, received from some of the prisoners. This letter, from the circumstance of the prisoners being deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper, was written upon the leaf of a book, if I recollect right, with a splinter of wood, and in the blood of the miserable captives, who, in terms indicative of despair, supplicated him to save them from the pangs of death produced by hunger and thirst; and, need I ask the reader, whether it was the bounden duty of an Englishman, particularly of a member of
par-

parliament, to lend his ear to the supplication, and to endeavour to procure redress? No matter *who* or *what* the suffering prisoners were. They were in an English prison, and they were there *without a trial*, too. Not to have attended to their call would have argued a heart destitute of justice as well as of mercy. Sir Francis, upon visiting the unhappy creatures, found them, he says, mere frames of men, their minds, apparently, as much impaired as their bodies. This led him on to a general inquiry and examination; and, though, in the heat of description, he may, probably, in some few instances, have surpassed the bounds of the fact, I am sincerely persuaded, that, in every case, the representations made by him were substantially true; and this persuasion must, in the mind of every candid man, be greatly strengthened by the well-known fact, that, upon the subject of these his representations, he never could obtain an open discussion in the House of Commons; all his endeavours in that way being defeated by a motion for the *previous question*, or by some such device. One occurrence of this sort is worthy of particular notice. Sir Francis Burdett, upon making a speech relative to the abuses in the prison, was answered by Sir William Elford, that he himself had been, that day, to visit the prison, and that with some little excusable exceptions, the conduct of the jailor had been highly commendable; upon which ground he concluded with making a motion, that the jailor should be called to the bar to defend his character against the charges of the Hon. Baronet. "I second that
"motion,"

“ motion,” said Sir F. Burdett ; “ for, though it is
“ quite a novel proceeding to call in a man, under
“ similar circumstances, to deny the statements of a
“ member of this house, yet, so long have I endea-
“ voured in vain to bring this matter under dis-
“ cussion, in some shape or other ; so clear am I as
“ to the truth of all my statements, and so confident
“ do I feel, that this truth will be made manifest to
“ the House by any mode of examination, whatever
“ it may be, that I cheerfully concur in the propo-
“ sition now made.” Some member from the Trea-
sury Bench, having, by this time, received his cue
from the minister, recommended to Sir W. Elford
to *withdraw* his motion ; whereupon he begged leave
to withdraw it. But, as this could not be done
without the *consent of a seconder*, and as Sir Francis
Burdett would not give this consent, the House di-
vided ; the NOES went out, leaving Sir Francis alone,
Sir W. Elford *voting against his own motion* ! No
comment is necessary ; and I shall only add, upon
this part of my subject, that, if the doors of the
House had not been closed at the time here referred
to, and if the daily newspapers had not then been,
as they now are, in possession of the most uncandid
and venal of men, neither I, nor any other well-
meaning man, would ever have been found amongst
the political enemies of Sir Francis Burdett. Such,
reader, are the causes of my change of opinion with
regard to the motives of this gentleman, calumniated
more than any other man that ever lived, but yet
enjoying popularity unparalleled ; the mention of
which latter circumstance brings me back to the
scene

scene now before us, and reminds me of the necessity of observing, that the daily newspapers, the whole of which have so carefully concealed the fact of Mr. Paull's being, at the close of every day's poll, *drawn home to his house, in triumph, by the people*, have, with equal care, concealed the fact, that Sir F. Burdett was *the only guest that was so conducted to the Lord Mayor's Feast, on the 9th instant*. This popularity, which is by no means confined to the rabble, but which extends itself amongst all those who compose that mass which is denominated *the people*; this popularity, which will be increased, rather than diminished, by the effects of ministerial fear and rancour; this popularity I am anxious to see employed in *preserving*, and not in *destroying*; and, for this reason, amongst many others, it is that I have deprecated, and do still deprecate, all attempts to inculcate the notion, that Sir F. Burdett is an enemy to the King and the Constitution; a notion, which, to whatever extent it may reach, cannot fail to give a mischievous direction to the minds of the people. Union, the cordial union of all men in defence of their country against the obviously meditated attacks of a most formidable enemy; this union is constantly represented as the only means of preserving our independence as a nation. "Let us be but *united*, hand and heart, and we may still see the threatening conqueror at defiance." But, is it likely that this union will be secured by setting up the false and calumnious accusation of disloyalty against a gentleman, who, amongst the really efficient part of the people, possesses more influence, and will, in spite

of all that can be said or done, possess more influence, than all the other public men in the kingdom put together? No matter what name placemen and pensioners and peculators may give him; for, that name, be it what it may, the independent part of the people will take to themselves; and, if his calumniators were to succeed in producing a general persuasion, that his views are really hostile to the kingly government, they would, thereby, gradually prepare the minds of the people for revolutionary measures. I may be deceived in my views of this matter; but, such is my sincere opinion, and such are the reasons which have, from the beginning of the present war, induced me to inculcate, to the utmost of my power, the necessity of abstaining from all those accusations, the tendency of which evidently was, not only to cause the enemy to believe that we were a *divided people*, but, in reality, to make us a divided people.—The phrase, in Sir F. Burdett's first Address, "*the best of kings*," together with the context, conveys no meaning hostile to the present king, or to the kingly government of England. There is nothing in that Address, which any candid and sensible man can, in his heart, disapprove of; and, though we may excuse such men as Mr. Bowles and Mr. Redhead Yorke, and such a man as Mr. Mellish, for setting up an out-cry against it; though these persons may be excused, what excuse can be found for the Sheridans and the Whitbreads and the Peter Moores, who, for the last 17 years, have been maintaining the right of "*cashiering kings*" at pleasure, and who have, in their orgies, toasted "*their*

" *Sovereign,*

“ *Sovereign, the Majesty of the People ;*” what excuse can be found for such men as these joining in the criticising calumny, and endeavouring to excite a hatred against a gentleman, whom they well know to be more, aye much more, loyal than themselves, but whom they mortally hate, only because he will not connive at their selfish conduct, which he, and in my opinion justly, regards as the most fertile source of public danger? They must be sensible that their calumnies will tend to divide the people ; to excite, in the breasts of a great portion of those men, who may be termed the nerves of the state, feelings of disgust, of hatred towards the calumniators, and of indifference, at least, with respect to the fate of a government, from the officers of which they may imagine that they have nothing but accusation and calumny to expect ; they must be sensible of all this, and they must see, that, in the same degree that they succeed in over-ruling, by their misrepresentation and their influence, the unbiassed voice of the people, the hearts of that people will be alienated from the order of things whence that influence flows ; but, alas ! they seem, in pursuit of present private advantage, to disregard all future public consequences——Am I told, that the fault “ is Sir F. Burdett’s? That *he has made the first attack?*” I answer, that every man has a right to criticise the conduct of every officer receiving the public money. This right, in the moral as well as in the legal sense of the word, has always been admitted, even by the most arbitrary of ministers, allowing, at the same time, that the right of all such

officers (and have they not *means enough*!) to defend themselves is equally undoubted. But, they have no right, by way of defence, to reproach their assailants with *disloyalty*. This mode of proceeding was pursued by the Addingtons. All those who disapproved of their measures; all those who expressed disgust at their insatiable love of place and emolument; all those who exposed their grasping, were, for want of arguments wherewith to furnish a defence, accused of *disaffection to the government*, and were, more than once, denominated *Jacobins*! But, this is a fraud, which, though it may succeed for a time with a certain portion of the people, must, in the end, prove, as it did in the case just referred to, ruinous to those who resort to it.

SECOND DAY.

Tuesday, November 11.

At the close of the poll, the numbers were as follows :

William Mellish, Esq.	. . .	433
George Byng, Esq.	. . .	421
Sir Francis Burdett	. . .	108

Mr. BYNG advanced to the front of the hustings. The uproar was so great that for some time he could not be heard. " Gentlemen, (said he, after silence had been obtained) I am highly gratified at the state of the poll this day, and have only to return you my best thanks for your exertions in my favour, and to request your continuance of them."

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT then came forward, and was greeted with the usual applauses by the crowd. " At this late hour, (he observed) I shall only take up your time, Gentlemen, for a few minutes, in expressing to those who have voted in my favour with so much spirit, under so many disadvantages, the great satisfaction which I feel at the independent principles on which I have been supported. For, whether I look at the whole number that has polled this day, or the number of those who, under the disadvantages that I have mentioned, have come forward in my favour, I cannot but be persuaded, that the independence of the County will at length
rouse

rouse itself, and will finally place me in that situation where another candidate at present stands, viz. at the head of the poll (*shouts of applause*). At all events, Gentlemen, it will be no fault of mine if you should not place me there. I am willing to stand or fall with the independence of the County of Middlesex; and I am resolved to give it every opportunity that the law allows of exerting itself, by keeping the poll open to the last (*applauses*). Gentlemen, when I consider the general slackness of the poll this day—when I consider that others, with all the advantages which they possessed, have not polled many more than I myself polled on the first day of a late election for this County, I cannot consider the state of the poll this day as the slightest criterion for judging of the final termination of the contest. I therefore hope that the independence of the County will shortly manifest itself. There are many reasons, which you may easily suggest to yourselves, for the lowness of the poll in my favour this day. In the first place, the Election at Westminster engages numbers of our friends. From the present state of political parties, there are many of my friends engaged there on opposite sides. After that Election is over, they will come forward, and finally crown the cause of independence with a glorious triumph. But, Gentlemen, I shall only say this, that be the support given to that cause more or less, I shall always prefer the liberties of the people to any election triumph, or to a triumph of any kind that you can imagine. Having said this much, Gentlemen, I shall conclude by requesting, that you will

will exert yourselves with that indefatigable zeal which you have before shewn, and which the greatness of the cause deserves, and in that case, I trust, that the independence of the County of Middlesex will at last be fully established.”—[*Loud and long continued plaudits.*]

Mr. MELLISH. “Gentlemen, it would be an insult to you to occupy much of your time at present. It is now almost dark, and I am sure you must be very hungry. I can assure you, that I feel proud of the situation in which you have placed me, and I hope you will always keep me at the head of the poll. I have therefore only to return you my warmest thanks, and to request that you will continue to exert yourselves in my favour, as you have hitherto done.”

THIRD DAY.

Wednesday, November 12.

At the conclusion of the poll, at three o'clock, the numbers were,

William Mellish, Esq.	936
George Byng, Esq.	833
Sir Francis Burdett	185

Mr. BYNG then addressed the Meeting. He thanked them for the exertion they had made on his behalf this day, which, he had no doubt, would continue, and, of course, secure his re-election.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT stepped forward amidst the loudest acclamations. He declared that he did not feel himself at all dismayed by the state of the poll. He knew it was in the power of the Independent Electors of Middlesx, if he possessed their favour, to return him, notwithstanding every effort which might be made against him. At all events, he had at least effected one object, which deserved their approbation. He had excluded a number of persons who, from parochial situations which they held, claimed votes for the county, thereby infringing on the rights of the fair Electors. It was not a seat in parliament which he was so anxious to obtain, as to add to, and protect, the rights and independence of the Electors. If he had contributed in any shape to this desirable object, he felt recompensed for

for any extraordinary trouble occasioned to himself. He must now intrude on the patience of the Electors, while he noticed some attacks made on him, and narrated in the Papers of this day, which, if he were now to pass unnoticed, it might never be in his power in any shape to animadvert on.—At a meeting of the friends of Sir Samuel Hood, yesterday, at Willis's Rooms, (see p. 123.) Mr. Sheridan had charged him with detesting those many brave men with whom our Navy abounded, and of whom he confessed Sir S. Hood to be one; suppressing notwithstanding, as he (Mr. Sheridan) would have it be believed, in the true spirit of charity, his (Sir Francis's) name. If this was charity in the conception of Mr. Sheridan, his heart and disposition must be very differently formed from those of the generality of mankind; for it was impossible for a moment to doubt of the object of his allusion. If so however, that quality which in the minds of other men displayed the milk of human kindness, must in his produce the gall of bitterness. To suppose that he did hold the brave men alluded to in detestation was as foolish, however, as it was uncharitable. Who that could think, would for a moment suppose that he had not more at stake in this country than the Right Hon. the Manager of Drury-lane Theatre. Mr. Whitbread, with a corresponding degree of charity, had allowed him to be a person of an honest heart, and of good intentions, but at the same time described him as a fellow of so little sense, that he did not know his own mind, or where he was going.

Supposing this, however, to be the case, he was undoubtedly still preferable to Mr. Whitbread, or to Mr. P. Moore, another of his calumniators. The place to which they would wish to go he could be at no loss to find out. The former would have no objection to go into a Peerage, or into a good Place, or both. To the latter, a Place was the most desirable thing in the world. Therefore, wherever he (Sir F. B.) was going, whether he himself or the Electors of Middlesex knew where he was going, his views could not be more interested or more suspicious than those of his calumniators. That same Gentleman, Mr. Moore, however, had charged him with being a turncoat. He confessed this charge surprised him. He might be accused, as he had been, of entertaining sentiments of too free, and undefined a kind, but he had hoped that a charge of tergiversation or dereliction of those principles which he had once maintained, would never be urged against him. Neither, however, could Mr. Thomas Sheridan abstain from adding his calumny to the others, with which he (Sir Francis) had been loaded. He stated, so universal was the odium, which the late declaration of his sentiments had occasioned, that his friend, Captain Halliday, had withdrawn from him his countenance, and had actually been employed in canvassing for his opponents. This, Sir Francis could say was not the fact. He had seen Mr. Halliday yesterday, at which time no such revolution in the sentiments of that Gentleman, whom he had always regarded as his steady and inde-

independent friend, had ever been hinted. But, though he had not seen him, so much did he rely on the friendship and goodwill of Mr. Halliday, and so much did he know of the estimation in which that honourable and worthy Gentleman held his principles, that he could assert, the allegation was utterly unfounded. Having thus noticed the calumnies thrown out against him, as he presumed to think, in the most unbecoming and most unjustifiable manner, he should say little in addition. He only called on that Gentleman who stood highest on the poll, to state what were the principles on which he asked the support of the Electors of Middlesex, and by which he should act if returned as one of their Representatives. For himself, notwithstanding all the insinuations, all the calumnies, falsehoods, and misrepresentations which had been openly thrown out, or secretly urged against him; he declared him self to be a firm, inflexible, and never to be shaken friend to the British Constitution, as by law established. The principles which he professed he knew to be those of the Constitution, and they alone could save the country from the perilous situation in which it was at present involved.—Sir Francis retired amidst loud applauses.

Mr. MELLISH next came forward, and was for some few moments before he could obtain a hearing, from the hissing and groaning of the mob. He at length spoke nearly as follows:—" Gentlemen Electors of Middlesex, I should be very ungrateful if I did not return you my warmest thanks, for the situation in which you have placed me upon

this day's poll. I conjure you to continue your exertions, for I am sure you can do a great deal more. The Hon. Baronet has made an attack upon me with respect to my principles, and I am sure you will have generosity enough to hear my defence. He has called on me to avow my principles; but, Gentlemen, I make no professions, and will content myself by assuring you, that if I have the honour to be returned, you shall find me an Independent Member."

FOURTH DAY.

Thursday, November 13.

The numbers at the close of the poll were,

William Mellish, Esq. . . .	1415
George Byng, Esq. . . .	1191
Sir Francis Burdett	248

Mr. BYNG.--I beg leave to thank those Gentlemen who have done me the honour to vote to-day in my favour.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.--“ Gentlemen, I have very few words to trouble you with on the present occasion. I shall in the first place return my warmest thanks to those Freeholders who have so honourably come forward under the present circumstances, in my support; and I beg leave to assure them, that, however small their numbers, I consider the honour as great: under the circumstances I now stand, I feel myself more honoured by one independent vote than I should be by a thousand, under the usual circumstances in which candidates come forward. Gentlemen, I took the liberty yesterday of requesting, on the part of the Freeholders of Middlesex, of the Gentleman near me, to state to the county the principles and grounds on which he offered himself to your support. The Candidate seemed cautiously to avoid any statement at the time, and although he thanked you for all you had done for

for him, he did not tell you, what would have been more to the purpose, what he intended to do for you. I must confess, that I think the Freeholders would be gratified by, and are entitled to some declaration of the public principles of every public man who offers himself to notice. Gentlemen, I am not at all discouraged by the present state of the poll. I still look forward to the time when the conclusion of the Westminster contest shall enable many independent Freeholders to come forward in my favour: but be that as it may, I shall give the county time, if nothing else. I shall not be wanting in my duty, and if the county can extricate itself, and assert its independence, it shall not be my fault that it is not done in triumph. I now take my leave, and beg to return you my sincere thanks."---(*Applause.*)

Mr. MELLISH.—“ Gentlemen, Freeholders, I must appeal to your generosity, to hear me defend myself from another attack. It is extraordinary that it should be made on me day after day, and I must recommend to the Hon. Baronet to take care of his own conduct, and I will take care of mine. I did yesterday tell you what my principles were—that I was a man of independent principles—that I will vote for measures, if you are so kind as to return me, and not for men. I cannot speak plainer. If you will tell me the manner to speak plainer I will do it. It is not for the Hon. Baronet to tell me to explain my principles—if any body has a right, it is the independent Freeholders. I am astonished that the Hon. Baronet should suppose that those Freeholders

holders who voted for him are more independent than those who did me that honour. Now I will finish with what I said yesterday—I thank you for the honourable situation in which you have placed me. Continue your exertions and do more, for I know you can.”

MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

The Independent Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, are requested to meet at Hudson's Hotel, in Covent-Garden, to-morrow, (Saturday) at six o'clock in the evening, to consider of the propriety of a Subscription for Carriages, to convey the Freeholders to poll, and thereby secure the re-election of Sir Francis Burdett, and rescue this Metropolitan County from the degradation of becoming a Rotten Borough of the Treasury.

14th Nov. 1806.

TIMOTHY BROWN.

FIFTH DAY.

Friday, November 14.

At the close of the poll, the numbers were, for

William Mellish, Esq. . . .	1785
George Byng, Esq. . . .	1456
Sir Francis Burdett	298

Mr. BYNG exclaimed—" Gentlemen, I beg leave to return thanks," and then retired, amidst the hisses and execrations of the mob.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT spoke as follows:—" Gentlemen; I took the liberty yesterday of addressing a question or two to the Gentleman next to me, (Mr. Mellish) who seems to think it was rather unwarrantable; but I trust, at least, as one of the Freeholders of the County, he will not think it was altogether misplaced. Gentlemen, I can only say, that if the County and the Freeholders are content with those general declarations, to which the Candidate near me has confined himself, I certainly have no reason to find fault with their being satisfied; but, Gentlemen, I always think it necessary, and more fair towards the Public, to state at least my own principles fairly and plainly; and it makes it the more necessary for me to do so, because I perceive them so frequently, I may say almost uniformly, either misunderstood or misrepresented.— Gentlemen; I beg leave first of all to take this opportunity of observing, that I see, in the papers of to-day, an advertisement of certain Freeholders of
this

this County, who wish to support my interest ; (see p. 359), and I only beg leave to take this opportunity of declaring, that that Advertisement appears without any knowledge or consent on my part.—Gentlemen ; much has been said during this Election, both here and at other places, concerning the principles which I have professed ; but no reason has been shewn, no person has had the charity to point out, wherein those principles are defective, or wherein they are inconsistent with the old free Constitution of England. Therefore, if I should adhere to these principles until the error is pointed out to me, I trust I shall meet with your approbation.—Gentlemen ; there has been an attack made upon me, and upon my principles, by a very respectable gentleman, I mean Mr. Whitbread, who states, on his part, and perhaps on that of the party with whom he acts, such principles as, I confess, are not reconcilable with mine ; of course, I do not look for his or their support, but which, I will be bound to say, are neither rational, or consistent with the Constitution of the Country.—Gentlemen ; Not to detain you long by going through the whole of that long Letter (see p. 321.), I will just mention one principle which appears to me so inconsistent, so unconstitutional, and so mischievous to the Country, that I cannot pass it over without notice. It is therein stated by that Gentleman, that the Ministers of this Country are appointed to rule over us, and that we are to look to them for protection. This appears to me monstrous ; because I do not so consider any Minister, or any Administration ; because I do consider

the Constitution as having appointed the King to rule, and to appoint those Ministers, each in his respective department, to do his duty ; but the Constitution has also provided the people with a shield against official abuse, by the fair representation of the people in Parliament. This, Gentlemen, is shortly and plainly, then, the constitutional ground on which I have, and ever intend, to act ; and I defy any man to find out any part of my conduct, any word written, or sentence spoken by me, inconsistent with that declaration ; for I hold it to be as pernicious to the public, as prejudicial to the people, that any party of men, or any coalition of parties of men, should take possession, as it were, of the King, and rule over the people in his name, and misuse his name and his prerogative, as I do that it is pernicious to the people, that they should not have their fair constitutional Representation. — Gentlemen ; One principle, also, seems to have given universal alarm, and that is, that it is a principle with me, that no man, who does not serve the Public, should meet with public reward ;—that no man, who has not performed honourable services, should receive the wages of honour ; nor, in the present circumstances of the Country, should one shilling of its resources, so essential for its safety, be misapplied, or given to any man without his being able to shew his merits. Now, Gentlemen, I have never thought, as many persons have seemed to imagine, that those who have performed great public duties, and great public services, should not meet with ample reward ; but, on the contrary, I think that they hardly meet with

with reward sufficient, and that those who perform none, run away with all those advantages which can fairly, and ought only, to be bestowed for services performed.—Gentlemen; the case of my Lord Nelson was alluded to by Mr. Whitbread; a case in which every man must agree, that no national reward could be too high. But, Gentlemen, to shew how the generality of men are rewarded for public merit, I would just take one instance, and I fear not a solitary one;—the instance of the family of that brave and gallant man, who fell by the side of my Lord Nelson, at Trafalgar, Mr. Scott, whose gallant conduct exposed him to dangers which his duty did not call him to encounter; but who, having fallen with my Lord Nelson on that occasion, great difficulty was found to obtain for the widow and children of that deserving man, even the small pittance of one hundred pounds a year. At the same time we see men, we see Mr. Sheridan for instance, one who was not at Trafalgar, who was never any where, as I believe, performing any services to the people, and yet he has rewards—many thousands a year, from the public, out of the purses of the people, exhausted as they are. Gentlemen; this is the abuse of which I complain; this, I say, is destructive of the Country,—this exhausting of the resources, whether of honour or of emolument, in times like the present; and I say, that those men are the allies of your enemies,—that they are the real traitors of your Country, who dissipate, under its present circumstances, and exhaust its sacred resources.—Gentlemen; Having stated to you thus plainly and

briefly my sentiments on these few topics, that have lately been brought before the public, I can only say, that no alteration in my mind is likely to take place, either by any circumstances of the poll, at this Election, or from any other cause, than the conviction of my own mind, in case any Gentleman should be able to induce me to believe, that I am acting upon principles not beneficial to the people of England.

Mr. MELLISH.—“ Gentlemen Freeholders; For the third time I must appeal to your generosity to hear me. It is impossible I can say much, and I have so bad a cold that I am sure you will not hear half what I do say. It would undoubtedly give me the greatest pleasure if the explanation of my principles had met with the unanimous approbation of the Freeholders. I am sorry it has not, but I am sure if you will look to the poll, you will find it has been approved by a decided majority. I cannot say much. I thank you for what you have done, and I request you to continue your exertions to the last day of the election.”

SIXTH DAY.

Saturday, November 15.

At the close of the poll, the numbers were,

William Mellish, Esq. 1966

George Byng, Esq. 1572

Sir Francis Burdett 323

Mr. BYNG.—“ Gentlemen Freeholders, I beg leave to return you my thanks for the honour you have done me this day.”

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.—“ Gentlemen Freeholders, in taking my leave this day, I shall address you in a few short sentences. In the first place, I beg leave to return my warmest thanks to those Freeholders who have come forward this day in my support; and to assure them, that however slack the Poll may appear, I shall not be wanting in the duty which I owe the County, which I consider is giving that fair opportunity the Law allows, of expressing their sentiments in favour of whatever Candidate is presented to their notice. Gentlemen, upon a Saturday the Poll of course is exceedingly slack, for a number of persons engaged in London have business to do, and cannot have an opportunity of attending. On Monday I trust it will be brisker; but be it as it may, I shall do my duty, by keeping the Poll open till the last day. Gentlemen, you all know, and I trust understand, the grounds on which I offer myself to the Freeholders. You all clearly comprehend my principles,

principles, and if ever there has been any ambiguity respecting them in the mind of any man, it has not proceeded from any want of plainness on my part, but from that habitual mode of regarding all matters relating to politics in this Country in a narrow and contracted view, and not with reference to those great constitutional principles on which I have always stood. I trust, and hope, that all misunderstanding has proceeded from this source, and that by adhering in an undeviating course to the principles I have professed, and by being guided not by party politics, but truth, and honour, and public integrity, I shall henceforth not only be better understood than I have been, but meet with that support which a sincere friend to a free Constitution deserves from the people of England.”—(*Great applause.*)

Mr. MELLISH.—“ Gentlemen Freeholders, I can assure you I will detain you only a few minutes. I beg leave to return you my warmest thanks for the honour you have done me, and after the declaration the Hon. Baronet has just made, that he means to keep the poll open to the last minute, I hope your exertions will not be relaxed, but continue, so that I may not only always continue in the same state I am, but be much higher.”

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S COACHES.

Hudson's Hotel, Covent-Garden, Nov. 15. 1806.

At a very numerous and respectable Meeting of the Independent Freeholders of the County of Middlesex

dlesex, held this day, in pursuance of a public Advertisement,

TIMOTHY BROWN, Esq. in the Chair,

Resolved, That this Meeting are decidedly of opinion that a sufficient number of Freeholders now remain unpolled to enable Sir F. Burdett to succeed in his Election.—That from age, infirmity, and the resistless necessity of economy, very great numbers will be deprived of exercising their elective franchise, unless provided with carriages.—That, for supporting the independence of the County, a General Subscription be opened, for the defraying the expence of carriages to convey to the Poll the Freeholders who desire to vote for Sir F. Burdett.—That a Committee be now appointed to carry the above Resolutions into effect, such Committe to sit daily at this house, where subscriptions will be received, as well as at the Banking-houses of Messrs. Brown, Cobb, and Stokes, No. 67, Lombard-street.—That Timothy Brown, Esq. be appointed Treasurer.—That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman for calling this Meeting, and for his impartial conduct in the Chair.—That these Resolutions be advertised in the several public Papers and otherwise distributed as the Committee may order.

MR. DENIS O' BRYEN'S MOST WONDERFUL
DISCOVERY.

[*From the Morning Post.*]

I have of late been so much before the public, that it would seem as if publicity were a passion
with

with me!—My true passion, in this respect, is of little consequence to any but myself; and, therefore, I say nothing upon the subject. The incumbencies, whether they are of design or accident, which lye upon me, I shall, at all events, discharge; and I shall do so with the same ease, under every species of hypercriticism, that marks, as I apprehend, the whole tenor of my humble career.—There are three topics which make me think it a personal and public duty to write this letter. I shall take them in their separate and successive order.

1st. ‘Three thousand Westminster votes for 3,000 pots of porter.’

I understand myself to have been quoted by Mr. Paull, from the Hustings, at Covent Garden, as having given an opinion to the above effect. How Mr. Paull, whom I have never yet beheld, has been led into this error, it is quite impossible for me to know. That Hon. Gent. will, however, I doubt not, be eager to acknowledge the mistake he has fallen into, when I thus declare, that I never uttered any such sentiment. Without pretending that Westminster is universally free from that borough contagion which I detest the more, the more I hear of it, I have never entertained, even for a moment, the slightest doubt, that of all the constituent bodies in the realm, the general mass of the Westminster electors was, *by far*, the purest.

2d. ‘My inaction in the present contest for Westminster.’

To the various enquiries upon this subject my answer is this—that though no mortal admires, more
than

than I admire, the splendid genius and complicated talents of Mr. Sheridan; though Mr. Sheridan is one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of my political and personal connections; though I am sure it would be, since Mr. Sheridan thought fit to embark in it, directly subversive of all the declared principles of the Westminster Electors, for the last 26 years, not to choose him; (for the objection to him, of holding an office, is neither English, nor even French, nor Grecian, nor Roman—it is of no clime or country, but totally original—it may be the best of doctrines, but it is wholly new)—yet, notwithstanding all the reasons, in favour of Mr. Sheridan, to which I advert, still, for me to engage (I never engage by halves in any thing) even for Mr. Sheridan, as I have been wont, in a Westminster contest, would to me, and in my interpretation of such a thing, be an irreverence to the grave, and making a sort of meretricious transfer of an undivided devoted affection, of which the principal comfort is the consciousness of itself. I blame no other persons, but, on the contrary, applaud them for their activity; but I must crave the liberty of judging, for myself, upon a subject in which there are delicacies unknown, and ever to remain unknown, to the public. It was my fixed intention never again to engage in any election contest; and from that intention nothing should have persuaded me to depart but the cause of an absent friend, assailed by an unworthy, and, as in the result it will prove, a fruitless combination. If I could, consistently, abstain from exercising my suffrage, upon this occasion, it would be my wish

not to be present, even for a moment, at a scene which can only renew afflicting remembrances in my mind; and (governed by that sound maxim which presumes innocence till guilt is proved) as, in my actual, total ignorance of the merits of the *impeachment*, I infer the innocence of the marquis of Wellesley—as I think it would be honourable to the noble Marquis, and justice to Mr. Paull, that the latter should have full scope and power to prosecute his accusation. Upon these grounds, most assuredly, I should divide my vote with Mr. Paull, but for the reason which, rendering such a course totally impossible, the reader will find in the third and most material section of this article, namely as referable to

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.

The aptitude to wrong, the bias to bad, which so strongly prevail in our frail natures; my persuasion that the extreme of fashion in opinion, like the extreme of fashion in dress, is generally faulty; the principled repugnance of my mind to every thing like clamour—all these would only have the effect of predisposing me in favour of Sir F. Burdett. About the least addicted of mankind, as I believe I am, to swear by the words of any body, not even the admirable, the unanswered, and unanswerable letter of Mr. Whitbread; no, nor even that which has caused it, Sir F. Burdett's famous advertisement—not even that advertisement, nor all these causes put together, could produce the result upon my convictions which I shall presently relate to the reader.—In this world there exists not a man, in my
opinion

opinion, in whom an assemblage of more amiable qualities is comprised than in Sir F. Burdett. He is a perfect Gentleman, in the truest definition of that term. With the mildness of an infant he unites the immoveableness of a stoic. Pride, in its bad sense, is utterly unknown to him; and, of all living beings, I conceive him to be the most perfectly free from every vestige of the arrogant and the supercilious. The public conduct of public men he discusses with freedom; but his lips are never polluted by a personal calumny. Such appears to me to be Sir F. Burdett; whom, with a little more warmth of temperament, I should as soon covet as a connection, and cultivate as a friend, as any individual in existence.—Yet with even this opinion (can a higher be entertained?) of Sir F. Burdett, it is totally impossible for me to support Sir Francis, or any man, who swears by Sir Francis, “as a master.”—What I am about to state to the reader is very remarkable, and is, at least, as a curiosity, worthy his attention.—In Sept. 1802, I wrote a letter to Mr. Fox, then at Paris, in which was the following sentence: “I think I have fathomed the mind of Sir F. Burdett; and have made a most marvellous discovery. It is not a subject for the bustle of Paris; it will serve for a talk in the solitude of St. Anne’s.” Upon the very same day, in a letter from me to the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn, was a passage to the following effect:—“I have just stated, in a letter to Mr. Fox, that I have made a most extraordinary discovery of what I conceive to be in the political contemplation of Sir F. Burdett.—I shall impart it only to Mr. Fox;

he may to your Grace ; if he likes.”—About three weeks before the recent dissolution of Parliament, touching upon Sir F. Burdett, incidentally, among other topics, in a conversation with a Noble Commoner in high office, I mentioned the circumstances of my letters to Mr. Fox and to the Duke of Bedford, as above referred to. The Noble Person to whom I allude, asked me, ‘ what the discovery was ? ’ Though I had wished the question had not been put to me, yet, as my confidence in that Noble Minister is unbounded, I unreservedly communicated to him what the reader shall presently hear. A syllable of my thoughts, upon this point, I never have dropped in any conversation even with Mr. Cobbett, for whose rare powers, and still more rare incorruptibleness, I make, (not the less that I often differ from him) an open proclamation of my unqualified respect. (To see so many persons, so high in my esteem, in discord, as I see at the present moment, is most painful to me. My sympathy is not the less, that I am, myself, at war, where I had rather be at peace ; and the rule on which I rely for steering me in safety through all these storms is—in matters of opinion to state what I think—in matters of fact, to state the truth).—To do any thing in the dark that might seem insidious—to utter any thing in privacy, which would look like disaffecting a powerful connection from a man for whom my personal esteem is infinite—this is so foreign from my character, that my tongue would refuse its function in saying any thing other than in the face of day’ upon so peculiar a subject.

Some

Some may think, with the Poet, that ‘ the glorious fault of Angels and of Gods,’ is expiated by the magnitude of the aspiration, and that such reserve, on my part, was not called for. At all events, up to this hour, I have kept my mind to myself. Many a secret, however, have I had in my sleeve, at many a sapient friend of mine, hard at work as many of them were, after his first election, (the period of my discovery, supposed or real) for Sir Francis, who entertained not even the element of an opinion in common with any one of them. For upwards of four years, whilst the crowd was puzzled with ‘ *hired Kings*,’ and many other inexplicabilities, I can truly affirm, that, to me, ‘ Wharton was as plain,’ as if I had surveyed the interior of Sir F. Burdett’s mind, uncased by its tegument of flesh ; and further, that ‘ the best of Princes’ and of ‘ Patriots,’ excited in me only a smile of confirmation in my long settled convictions. What then was this grand discovery of mine?—The reader shall have it in the very words I used to both the dead and the living Minister :—

THAT WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FANATICISM WHICH WAS CROMWELL’S LADDER—WITHOUT ANY MILITARY PRETENSIONS—and *unaided by any thing like the moral influence of Bonaparte’s unparalleled renown*—that Sir F. Burdett, in the full belief of my soul, *aimed at equal supremacy with BOTH.*

Whether I am right or wrong, lies between Heaven and Sir F. Burdett. My friend Sir F. often ask his rivals at Brentford, what are their principles? and they, ‘ like dum statues,’ never retort the interrogatory. If Sir F. will develope *his*, I answer for it,

it, that his principles will consist of nothing but some of those common places, about the sufferings of the people, and the wonders *he*, will do for them, which every man has practised from *Pisistratus* to *Cæsar*; from *Cæsar* to *Cromwell*; and from *Cromwell* to *Bonaparte*—whom genius or fortune, acting upon popular stupidity and public baseness, has raised to domination over his fellow citizens.—With all my profound personal regard for Sir F. Burdett, I cannot consent to make him Prefect, or Consul, or Protector, or King, or Emperor of England; and for that reason, though I believe Mr. Paull not to be aware of the movements of the planet under which he has placed his destinies---I cannot advise any man to give his vote for Mr. Paull.

Craven-street, Nov. 16.

D. O'BRYEN.

Major Cartwright's Observations on the 'Most Wonderful Discovery.'

Sir---I have just read Mr. O'Bryen's account of his "most marvellous discovery"---"That without the assistance of the fanaticism which was Cromwell's ladder---without any military pretensions---and unaided by any thing like the moral influence of Bonaparte's unparalleled renown---that Sir F. Burdett, in the full belief of Mr. O'Bryen's soul, aimed at *equal supremacy* with both."---This Gentleman then says---"If Sir F. will developé his principles, he will answer for it, that his principles will consist of nothing but some of those common places,
about

about the sufferings of the people, and the wonders *he* will do for them, which every man has practised from Pisistratus to Cæsar; from Cæsar to Cromwell; and from Cromwell to Bonaparte---whom genius or fortune, acting upon popular stupidity and public baseness, have raised to domination over his fellow-citizens."---Now, Sir, as it appears to me, who am a plain man, if Mr. O'Bryen believed the aims of Sir F. Burdett to correspond with those of men who by the greatest wickedness, established themselves in despotic power on the ruins of public liberty, he must possess a whimsical kind of patriotism and morality, to say of this very man, that, had he "a little more warmth of temper he should as soon covet him as a *connection*, and cultivate as a *Friend*, as any individual in existence."---But it seems that Mr. O'Bryen's "most marvellous discovery" was made in September, 1802, and that he immediately mentioned in letters to Mr. Fox, and the late Duke of Bedford, that he had made such a discovery. To the Duke he also says---"I shall impart it only to Mr. Fox; he may to your Grace if he likes." We are, therefore, to presume, that when Mr. Fox returned from Paris (where he then was) this sagacious Gentleman did not fail to embrace the first opportunity of imparting a discovery of so much importance.---Had, then, Mr. Fox, whose penetration was not, perhaps, less than that of his correspondent, himself made a like discovery, it is not probable that he could afterwards, in any respect, have favoured the political efforts of the Baronet for rising in power. But during the
election

election of 1804, I can bear testimony, formed on a correspondence with the deceased Statesman, to the warm interest he took in the success of Sir Francis Burdett.—On the subject of the Baronet's *principles*, Mr. O'Bryen writes with an "IF."—If Sir Francis *will develope*.—"Is any man, except Mr. O'Bryen, ignorant of the Baronet's principles? Was any man ever more frank, or more explicit, than the Baronet, in this respect? He has repeatedly told his Countrymen, that his leading object is a *Restoration of the People's Right to a fair and substantial Representation in Parliament*; and he has told them truly that nothing but this *can save the State*. If Mr. O'Bryen's "connections" have taught him to treat this question, as one of the "common places about the sufferings of the People," as a phrase without other meaning, than to act "upon *popular stupidity and public baseness*," for raising a man "to domination over his fellow-citizens," then what he has revealed as a "most marvellous discovery," amounts only to this, that, in his opinion, Sir Francis Burdett is no better than many who have gone before him; while at the same time this same Gentleman describes the Baronet as a man of most consummate virtue—one who, had he but "a little more warmth of temper, he should covet as a *connection* and a *Friend*."---Now, Sir, If this reader of human hearts, this sagacious politician, can discover any other means than those for which Sir Francis Burdett contends, of *saving the State*---if he can discover any other nostrum for the preservation of our liberties, than restoring to us a *fair and substantial*

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Representation in Parliament. it will be a “most marvellous discovery” indeed !—The idea is perfectly original, that actually to give men *political liberty*, is the way to make them *slaves*. Had this been the natural effect of a Reform of Parliament, I need not have spent half my life in contending for it. I should have needed but to have announced the “marvellous discovery.” From Lord North I should have had a Vote of Thanks ; and my Country would have had the Reform thirty years ago.

Will's Coffee House, Searle-street,

Nov. 17, 1806.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

SEVENTH DAY.

Monday, November 17.

At the close of the poll, the numbers were, for

William Mellish, Esq. . . . 2207

George Byng, Esq. . . . 1714

Sir Francis Burdett 400

Mr. BYNG merely made his bow and retired.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT spoke as follows :—“ Gentlemen Freeholders ; I am happy in having this opportunity of disclaiming any consent or knowledge on my part of a Meeting of certain Freeholders, whose zeal has led them, I see by the Papers of this

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Morning, to come forward in the way they thought most likely to promote my success. Though I cannot but feel grateful to the Gentlemen who have thus expressed their zeal in my favor, I must at the same time declare, that it is so contrary to my wishes, so contrary to the principles on which I offered myself to the notice of the County, that, though I feel every kind of gratitude for the zeal they are pleased to shew in my favour, I cannot, at the same time, concur in their sentiments, or agree with them in opinion, that it is a benefit to the County, or to the Public at large. Gentlemen, I was anxious and desirous that the principle should stand by itself; and that we should know, in this County of Middlesex, so much spoken of in former times for its spirit and independence, how far the unassisted public principle would be able to carry them in a time like the present.—Gentlemen, I have great reason to hope, from the state of the Poll this day, that the independent interest of the County may still exert itself beneficially towards that Candidate, who stands totally, and alone upon the independent interest of the County.—The Gentleman near me has said, upon a former occasion, Why should I assume, that those Freeholders, who poll in my favour, are more independent than those who poll for him? Considering the circumstances under which we stand, I should think it quite unnecessary to give any precise answer to that question. I think you must all be well aware, that there are many motives, that there are many causes of influence, upon the side of the Gentleman near me, which cannot operate in my favor, but must, on the contrary,

trary, operate strongly against me. Gentlemen, under these circumstances, I do not think that I pay more than a fair compliment to the Freeholders who come forward in my support, when I denominate them, particularly, the INDEPENDENT MEN OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.—Gentlemen, I do not say, that it is a proof to the contrary, if any man votes in favor of the Candidate near me ; but I do say, that whoever votes for me, gives a proof of the fact itself.—Gentlemen, to some influence or other, I must suppose, that the Gentleman near me trusts, because he has not, up to the present moment, been pleased to favor you with one declaration as to the grounds of his public conduct—as to what he may be inclined to do for you in future—or one principle, of a public kind, upon which he recommends himself to your support. What has been the answer of the Gentleman near me, upon every occasion ? The answer has always been to you, “ *Look at the Poll.* ”—Gentlemen, I trust that answer will not be thought so conclusive ; I trust that that sentence, short and concise undoubtedly, will not be thought to be fraught with so much wisdom, that the Independent Freeholders of Middlesex will think that a sufficient recommendation to a Candidate who asks for their support.---Gentlemen, this has been the trick of all men who have depended upon Majorities alone, independent of reason, and of public principle. What has been the answer at all times, from Ministers carrying on flagitious measures ? What has been the answer from Ministers carrying on wicked, oppressive, ruinous Wars?---Their argument, in

answer to any remonstrance on the part of the people, has always been "*Look at the Poll.*" We afford you no reasons ; but look at the Majorities !---Gentlemen, what was the answer made always, during the course of the American war, which has laid the foundation of all those mischiefs which we now experience ; The answer to those who argued on the part of the Public was always like that of the Gentleman near me, "*Look at the Poll ;*"—Gentlemen, when the late Minister, Mr. PITT, who has laid the foundation of the ruin of this country—[*Marks of disapprobation within the Hustings.*—]—when an Inquisition was taken into all your private affairs ; when all sorts of oppressive measures were brought forward and supported, what was the reply to all persons who disapproved of all that conduct ? It was the reply of the Candidate near me, "*Look at the Poll !*" I do not know, Gentlemen, whether the vote of the Gentleman near me would not be found upon that Poll, an appeal to which has been so universally successful against the best interests and liberties of the Country. Gentlemen, I declare every Placeman and Pensioner in England ought to be obliged to the Gentleman near me, for furnishing them with so conclusive and satisfactory an answer ; for they may exclaim, with him, "*Look at the Poll !*" Every Placeman, who has a seat there, may triumphantly appeal, with the Gentleman near me, to the same criterion of their patriotism and their merit.—Gentlemen, the Right Honorable Treasurer of the Navy, (Mr. Sheridan) who takes many thousands a year out of the exhausted resources of the Country, who,

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at the same time, seems as if he thought there was united in his person all the patriotism and public interest of England,—he, I say, who takes many thousands a year for his family, in the present circumstances of the people, out of their exhausted pockets, may exclaim, with the Candidate near me, “*Look at the Poll!*” That Gentleman, Mr. SHERIDAN, who is now content to come in, in opposition to that interest, in opposition to that popular voice, and those public feelings, which supported him, whom he falsely calls his predecessor, (Mr. Fox)—for-so he falsely terms the person whom he hopes to succeed, whose name he does on that, as others do on other occasions, scandalize and abuse,—he who is content to come in upon the second votes of Court Candidates, has the comfort of being able also to say to the People, “*Look at the Poll!*”—However, Gentlemen, public opinion may alter,—public opinion may change,—the Poll may turn,—and those Ministers, who are bringing such mischiefs on their Country, may possibly find themselves in the Minority—may find their own Polls in danger,—and then they will not appeal so triumphantly to the Poll;—they will not then think, that the Poll is the only criterion of public principle and public merit.—Gentlemen, I trust and hope, that this answer will not, by you, be thought quite so satisfactory, or be looked upon with quite so much complacency, as it appears to be by the Gentleman who offers it to your notice. I trust and hope, that upon these Hustings, in a public contest for the most important part of the representation of the kingdom, it will

not

not be thought sufficient,—on all occasions, to say to the Freeholders “*Look at the Poll!*” Gentlemen, if it is, then that influence, which you feel the very effects of—that corruption, of which I complain as the cause of the destruction of the country, will be converted into a justification and be made the grounds for asking for your approbation and support.—Gentlemen, in taking my leave of you this day, I must still say, that I confidently look to the exertion of the Independent interest of the County;—by that I am willing to stand or fall; and be assured, that there is no motive in my mind that can in any degree be altered, or changed, by any situation of the Poll.”

Mr. MELLISH.—“Gentlemen, I must appeal again, for the fifth and sixth time, to your generosity to hear me in defence of my own character. The Hon. Bart. has again attacked me personally, and I am certain and positive that the independent Freeholders will hear me in my justification. I will begin with returning you my warmest thanks for the situation in which you have placed me. I do not consider myself safe, though I am far superior to the other Candidates. I hope you will continue your exertions, and put me in a situation more desirable than it is at present. Now, Gentlemen, I come to your generosity. I hope all independent Freeholders will hear me. The Hon. Baronet has said, as well as I recollect—I should be sorry to omit a word of what he did say—He talked about a trick played off by me at the poll; (*No, no, said Sir Francis, I only talked of the tricks of Ministers*). Gentlemen, he says

says he talked of Ministers and not of me. I must only take care of my own character, and let others take care of theirs. I will go on a little farther. The Hon. Baronet talks so much of the Independence of the Freeholders who voted for him. It is unjust in the Hon. Baronet—If he was not a Candidate, he would not talk so—he would not say his voters were more independent than mine---(*Yes he would, said Sir Francis and his Friends*). It is only an electioneering trick to make you believe what he does not believe himself, and I am sure, if the Hon. Baronet should be so fortunate as to get to the head of the Poll, he will also exclaim---“Look to the Poll.”

EIGHTH DAY.

Tuesday, November 13.

At the close of the poll, the numbers were, for

William Mellish, Esq.	. . . . .	2401
George Byng, Esq.	. . . . .	1821
Sir Francis Burdett	. . . . .	496

MR. BYNG bowed to the multitude and withdrew.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.—“Gentlemen; I cannot but consider the poll of to-day as rather encouraging to my hopes, and to the independent interest of this County.—Gentlemen; I shall beg leave before I depart to make one or two observations to you, which I
think

think well worthy the consideration of the Freeholders of Middlesex before the poll closes, or their consideration may perhaps come too late.—Gentlemen; I do not at all regret, though it certainly renders me liable to some sort of disadvantage, the plain and open way in which I have thought fit to state to you the grounds upon which I offer myself to your notice, the principles upon which I intend to act, and therefore the expectations you would be intitled to form of my conduct had I met with your support.—Gentlemen; It is well worth the attention of the Freeholders of Middlesex to consider the sentiments which have been expressed by Candidates in other places of popular Election; because they will see the different tone taken by those persons as soon as they have ceased to be Candidates and have obtained their seats. Gentlemen, only to mention one instance, the Borough. I would direct your attention to the sentiments expressed by Mr. Henry Thornton to the Electors of the Borough, immediately after he had secured his seat. You will there find, that he takes the first opportunity of telling the Electors the great and monstrous sacrifices they are now to be called upon to make,—which, I believe, you will not find him ever to have hinted at previous to that day.—Gentlemen; in another great County,---in Yorkshire,---Mr. Wilberforce I see follows also the same track, and as soon as his seat is secured, he then talks of the enormous sacrifices the people are to be called upon to make.—Gentlemen; this is indeed curious language, to be expected perhaps from the quarter from whence it comes, but it would

would have been as well I think to have thrown out those subjects for the consideration of their Constituents previous to their having attained their return.—Gentlemen; as to sacrifices—are all the sacrifices that have hitherto been made to count for nothing? Have we not been making sacrifice upon sacrifice? and would it not have been important to have shewn, at least, what had been the result of the sacrifices hitherto made, and to have held out at least some hope for the future, some benefit to be derived from those unheard of sacrifices which they now say the people are to make?—Gentlemen; it is as if after having supported a system which has divided great portions of the population of the Country, one part into paupers and the other into tax-gatherers, it would seem as if a system leading to the erection of poor-houses for the reception of the industrious, and palaces for the reception of tax-gatherers, as if a system of that kind had not caused sufficient sacrifices on the part of the people.—Gentlemen; another Right Hon. Gentleman, whom I have frequently had occasion to allude to in the course of this Election, the Right Hon. the Manager and Treasurer, talks very pleasantly of the chearful sacrifices the people are to make—that Gentleman who has sacrificed nothing else that I know of except his confidence and public character, but who, while you are making sacrifice, is putting into his own pocket many thousands a year of the public money. Why, Gentlemen, these persons may speak with great composure, and perhaps with great pleasure, of the sacrifices which others are to make for

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their emolument. That person, too, Mr. Sheridan, is as unfortunate in many others respects in his attempts to acquire some little popular applause, by means which I should think hardly any man would descend to; he is as unfortunate in public concerns, for it never happens that he is able to put forward any claim to the protection and support of the Electors of Westminster, that it is not done by exhibiting to a disadvantage some parts of the conduct or character of the supporters of himself and his friends. Mr. Sheridan puts forth a claim to support as having been the only person who on a great and interesting occasion had afforded me any support. If that had been the case, what became of the claims of all the rest of the best of patriots who acted with that Gentleman? Is he better than the best? Is his claim founded on their demerits? On the present occasion, we see Mr. Sheridan coming forward and stating, that the magistracy have been solicited by numbers, as he says, of his respectable friends, to prostitute their authority, in order to revenge some conduct not agreeable to him and his friends, from a publican during the Westminster Election (see p. 226).—Gentlemen; Is it not too much that he should pique himself on the generosity of his conduct; that he should state it is owing to his interference that the most scandalous abuse of the magisterial authority is not resorted to, and that he should claim as a merit with the Country, that he, a placeman, is standing forward to withhold the arm of the magistracy from scandalously exerting itself on the occasion of an Election? Why, Gentlemen, it is a
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little unfortunate, but the merits and virtues of Mr. Sheridan cannot be exhibited by himself to the public without this strong disadvantage to his friends : according to him and to his representations, all of them appear like so many golden two-pences to the pure and sterling ore of his virtue.—Gentlemen ; I should hope on many accounts, and at a time like this, that still late as it is, the Gentleman near me would be kind enough to favour you with some opinion of his upon public men and public transactions.—Gentlemen ; if it is not so, you may perhaps find yourselves in the unfortunate predicament of the Electors of Southwark, and the Electors of the County of York ; you may find your Candidate entertain sentiments you were not aware of, and which if you had been aware of, you would not have given him your support.—Gentlemen ; with respect to the general state of this country---with respect to the coalition of parties, which I have drawn great opposition upon myself by having done the best in my power to expose, it appears to me the nation is a good deal in the situation of that unfortunate person represented in the New Testament, where it is said, “ that a man having been long distressed, and suffered much by being possessed of a devil, had the good fortune at last to get this devil out.” But, Gentlemen, like the case of that man, Lord Grenville came back with many more worse than himself, and it is no wonder if the last state of that man was infinitely worse than the first.—Gentlemen ; I shall take leave of you this day, with returning my warmest thanks to those Freeholders who have come

forward so nobly, and assuring them that it shall be no fault of mine if the independent interest of the County has not fair scope, and time, for exercising its powers.”

Mr. MELLISH then came forward, but the tumult and uproar prevented him from speaking. He said, “it was rather extraordinary, after the Hon. Baronet’s observations of the preceding day, that he should begin his speech by referring to the poll.”—The clamour again commenced, and Mr. Mellish withdrew.

NINTH DAY.

Wednesday, November 19.

At the close of the poll the numbers were:—

William Mellish, Esq. 2517

George Byng, Esq. 1910

Sir Francis Burdett 561

Mr. Byng made his bow, and retired.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.—“Gentlemen; If the Candidate near me was offering himself for the situation of a Privy Counsellor, or a Minister of the Secret Cabinet of some despotic Prince, the plan of silence and reserve which he has hitherto observed, might be a strong recommendation to him for that office;—but, Gentlemen, as a Candidate for the popular suffrages of the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, I should think a little more explicitness,
and

and candour, and openness, would be a stronger recommendation to your notice.—Gentlemen: Many have been the ways and tricks which have been used, by various persons, to endeavour to affect the public mind inimically to me, and to persuade the Freeholders, and the Public at large, that I am hostile either to some part, or to the whole, of the Constitution of this country. Gentlemen, we now perceive, by advertisements, by speeches in other places, (for certainly I cannot reproach the Gentleman near me with any fault of that nature)---we perceive, by various representations in writing and speaking, that some persons, having exhausted the watch-words they had formerly used,--having exhausted--“*the best of Kings*”--and “*the best of Patriots*,”--now have recourse to--“*the Friends of the Constitution*.” That is the watch-word they now adopt; by that appellation they wish to designate themselves and their friends, and, under the designation of Enemies to the Constitution, they wish to persuade the people, that myself and my friends are properly denominated---Gentlemen, they bring to my mind the Fable I have formerly read of the citizens of a certain town, who possessing a very watchful dog, who protected and guarded them, and gave them notice of the approach of thieves, were so simple and so absurd, as to be persuaded, by those very thieves, who were more artful than themselves, that it would be for their interest to destroy the dog, that their rest might not be disturbed. Not, Gentlemen, that I have the slightest apprehension of any such effect being produced in the enlightened minds of my
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Countrymen---Gentlemen; with respect to the Constitution, I have over and over again stated my principles upon that point; I have stated, that I am as much a friend to the fair Constitutional Prerogatives of the Crown, as to the just and necessary Privileges of the Subject;--and, Gentlemen, one of my strong objections to the present parties, and unprecedented coalitions in pursuit of power, that have lately taken place, has been, that the prerogatives of the Crown are as much usurped upon, on the one hand, as the Rights and Liberties of the People of England on the other. Now, Gentlemen, I will fairly state to you, that I am not for a King of shreds and patches,---I am not for a Man of Straw,--I am not for a name, which other persons are to use, or abuse, for their own power or party purposes,---but, for the efficient Magistrate, for the Constitutional King of England,---the abuse of his prerogatives, by Ministers, being checked, controlled, and guarded against by a fair representation of the People in Parliament. Now, Gentlemen, this is explicitly and clearly, then, my mind upon this subject. What I want to obtain for the People is, what they are supposed to have, but that which they do not possess, under the present incompetent state of the representation,---I mean, a shield against official abuse. Gentlemen, I want not to put into the hands of the people a sword, but I want them to have a shield; because they are perpetually exposed to the abuse of official power,---Now, Gentlemen, it has been said in that Manifesto,---for so I consider the Letter of Mr. Whitbread,---as a palliation for

for all the conduct of him and his party,---it has been said there, "that I should descend to particulars." Gentlemen, I have always been willing and ready so to do; but to specify all the Abuses, and all the particulars of abuse, of which I should have to complain on the part of the Public of England, would indeed take up infinitely more time, than you or I have at present to bestow;--but, gentlemen, I will state one or two circumstances, which strike me very forcibly, as parts of that system of corruption, and very considerable parts, to which I ever have been, and I trust ever shall be, opposed.--Gentlemen; I object to the emoluments derived by the Marquis of Buckingham, the brother-in-law of Lord Grenville, for the unreformed Tellership of the Exchequer, condemned by King, Lords, and Commons. Why then, Gentlemen, I complain also of the plunder of the People, in the emoluments received by my Lord Grenville, as Auditor of the Exchequer,---I complain, that, owing to his neglect of that trifling duty which he had to perform, and which he neglected to perform, in the case of a great and dangerous forgery, that of Aslett, the justice of the country was defeated;---and I complain, that Parliament was then so constituted, that, though a formal complaint was made on that subject, and made by myself, instead of taking those emoluments from that unnecessary office---instead of assisting and alleviating the public burdens by applying those resources to the public distresses, instead of even finding fault, or passing a censure on Lord Grenville for that neglect of his duty, they did pass an Act of Parliament, to enable

enable him to hold his salary, without the performance of any duty whatever. Why, Gentlemen, I also complain, then, that a new act has been passed ---that a new bill has been brought in and passed by Parliament, to enable the same Lord Grenville to hold two incompatible offices, contrary to law.--- Gentlemen; if I were to go through all the emoluments, enjoyed by various branches of that one family, with all their collaterals,—if I were to sum up the vast sums of money they have been in the habit of receiving for a number of years,—if I were to add to that the interest that has accrued,—if I were to add to that again those monies which have been disposed of by them, in order to support their own corrupt power,—I should say, that in that family alone, there has been distributed sufficient of the plunder of the public, materially to lighten the burdens and the grievances of the people. Why then Gentlemen, these are the things of which I complain, this is the system to which I am opposed;—these are the principles upon which I have acted, and shall continue to act; and I can assure you, Gentlemen, that there is nothing in my mind to be moved,—no principle of mine to be affected---no motive to my conduct to be altered---by any situation of the Poll upon this Election.”

Mr. MELLISH begged leave to thank the Electors for the additional honour they had done him this day. The Speeches of the worthy Baronet were so extraordinary, it was very difficult to understand them.

TENTH DAY.

Thursday, November 20.

The numbers at the close of the poll were, for

William Mellish, Esq. . . .	2605
George Byng, Esq. . . .	1962
Sir Francis Burdett	646

Mr. Byng made his bow and retired.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.—Gentlemen ; In the few observations I shall have to offer to you this day, I shall endeavour to make myself, and I trust more successfully, intelligible to the Gentleman near me (Mr. Mellish) than it appeared, by what he said yesterday, I had the good fortune to do. I should wish that on every account, because I should be glad to know what were the difficulties of that Gentleman's mind, and what were his objections, if he had any objections, to those sentiments, and to those principles, which I yesterday advanced—and I trust and hope, Gentlemen, that you will pay that attention to your Candidate, when the Gentleman near me comes to deliver to you his sentiments ; and which you ought as well as myself, to be extremely anxious to hear ; because, as this Election draws near to a conclusion, it would be rather hard on the Freeholders, I think, to have returned a Candidate, without knowing on what principles he would be likely to conduct himself in Parliament. —Gentlemen ; it falls to my lot frequently to notice the aspersions cast upon me by persons in other places : and it becomes necessary for me to do so,

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because this is the only place in which I have an opportunity of clearing up any mistakes, or misrepresentations, as to the motives or principles of my conduct.—Gentlemen ; I shall observe, in the first place, upon some remarks which have appeared in the morning Papers, in the form of a Speech delivered by Lord William Russell. He is pleased to tax me with inconsistency ; and, in order to shew that, he first of all states, that, at the Election of Lord Percy for Westminster, I then expressed a good opinion of the Administration, and supported Lord Percy. It appears to me, that it would require more ingenuity than Lord W. Russell possesses, to shew that there is any inconsistency, either at this, or at the Westminster Election, in now opposing the same person whom I before opposed ; inasmuch, at least as my support in favour of Lord Percy, at that time, was considered an opposition to Mr. Sheridan.—Gentlemen ; It has also been said, by Lord W. Russell, that I, at the outset of the Coalition Administration, congratulated the Country on the change which had taken place. Now, Gentlemen, at that time undoubtedly I did entertain hopes of some of those ameliorations of the condition of the Public, which we had been led to expect from the professions of that noble Lord, and of his party ; and every body must be aware, that if at that time I had, without giving them any opportunity even of laying before the Public their future plans of conduct,—if I had (I say) at that time immediately declared my disinclination to support them,—it would not only have been contrary to those feelings of regard,

gard, which I felt for many of them individually, and to that desire of affording them support, which those feelings certainly encouraged ;—but also, the Public would have said, it was not fair to judge of them, before we had any proof what their conduct might have been. But, Gentlemen, if there could have been any inconsistency in having given credit to the professions of the party, to which Lord W. Russell belongs, it is extraordinary, I think, that it should come from one of them, as an accusation against me, and a proof of inconsistency, that I did entertain hopes, and a higher opinion of them, than their subsequent conduct has proved that they deserve. But, Gentlemen, Lord W. Russell seems to be like a person on board a ship, who, passing every object himself supposes the objects he passes to be in motion ; but I believe he will find, and you will always find, that it is not myself who am in motion, but that it is those persons with whom I have at times had the good fortune to be able to act : and that I have remained stationary, when they have changed their places.—Gentlemen ; the high opinion I undoubtedly entertained of Mr. Fox, the great and transcendent abilities of Mr. Fox, and the amiable private qualities of Mr. Fox, were certainly of such a nature, as, perhaps, to induce men to pass over many political faults ; and undoubtedly to make all men, who were witnesses to the exercise of his abilities, admire his talents ; and those who had the good fortune to partake of his society, to love and respect him. In paying that tribute to the memory of Mr. Fox, I must say, he was the only person of that party, upon whom my hopes were founded ;—I must

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confess,

confess, that, when he came into power, I did look to some of those great schemes of National Reform, which his great mind was well calculated to produce. I did as eagerly expect some amelioration of the condition of the people.—I did so, as eagerly as the traveller, in passing the thirsty desert, looks for the moistening drops of Heaven, But, Gentlemen, it would be curious indeed, if, after a considerable time had elapsed without any of those schemes of Reform being submitted to the Public,---without even any hint at any of those pledges which had formerly been given to the Public,---without any allusion to those promises, which we had a right to expect to be fulfilled,---after a considerable time had elapsed without any hope of that kind having been held forth to the country,—I should think I was carrying my complaisance a great deal too far, still to entertain hopes myself;—and, not entertaining hopes myself, I felt I should be guilty of treachery to the people, if I did consent, in any way, to delude the people with false expectations.—Gentlemen; It has been represented also, in the papers, as part of the Speech of another gentleman, Mr. Whitbread, that he had represented me as a person trying to raise an improper and senseless clamour; (for that is the expression made use of in the Newspapers) most likely it is a misrepresentation of Mr. Whitbread's Speech, [*Mr Whitbread nodded assent* ;] but it is still important for me to contradict the aspersions. It is said, that I have been endeavouring to raise an improper and senseless clamour against all taxes, and all levies, for the good of the Public.

Now

Now Gentlemen, this is so contrary to all that I have ever said upon this subject, that I have more than once stated, that so far from objecting to the levying of taxes fairly, and properly, and equally, upon the Public at large, that I have considered taxes, duly and properly levied and applied, not scandalously, either in the collection, or in the expenditure for corrupt purposes, to be for the Public benefit. I have even likened it to the moisture which the sun draws from the earth, and which it again lets fall, in dews and refreshing showers, invigorating and ameliorating the soil. But, Gentlemen, taxes which are applied to purposes of corruption, are like the torrent, that devastates and lays waste the land. It is to the misapplication, therefore, that I have always objected.—I have stated, on various occasions, particular instances of that scandalous application—application peculiarly scandalous at this time, and highly dangerous to the independence and liberties of the country.—Gentlemen; having, I trust, been understood upon these few points, I shall take my leave of you this day, by observing, that Mr. Sheridan also, at the same meeting, countenances the same sort of misrepresentations, and talks of me, as a person endeavouring to excite public odium upon the Government, which calls for necessary sacrifices on the part of the People. He says, that he is willing, at least (but he said it after his Election was secured) to take his share of the odium. Gentlemen, he might have added, I think too, his full share of the plunder. Gentlemen, this is the principle upon which

which we decidedly disagree, because I am determined to have no share in either."

Mr. MELLISH. "'Gentlemen, after the particular request of the Hon. Baronet, I flatter myself you will be silent for a few minutes. I stated to you yesterday that the speeches of the Hon. Baronet, were very extraordinary; and I repeat, that he so changes his principles, day after day, that it is difficult to comprehend him. He wishes, Gentlemen, to instil his principles into mine.---(*A loud laugh*). He also wishes to dictate to you what shall be your conduct, and what sort of men you ought to choose; but I am sure he has no more influence over your minds than he has over mine. His personal attack upon me grows stale, and I can forgive it, feeling that my success might irritate him, I will repeat my principles in two words---" HONESTY and INDEPENDENCY !"---and I take my leave."

ELEVENTH DAY.

Friday, November 21.

At the close of the poll, the numbers were, for

William Mellish, Esq.	. . . .	2724
George Byng, Esq.	. . . .	2034
Sir Francis Burdett	. . . .	722

Mr. Byng immediately made his bow and retired.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.---" Gentlemen; not having had, hitherto, the good fortune to make myself

self

self understood by the Gentleman near me, I hope this day I shall be as intelligible to him, as I have hitherto had the happiness to be to you Gentlemen. If up to this time, as Mr. Mellish declared yesterday, he had not been able to understand what I have taken the liberty, at different times, to address to you, I must confess, at least, that, in the short address of Mr. Mellish, yesterday, he has certainly taken his revenge, and has been as unintelligible to me, as it is possible that ever I could have been to him. Gentlemen, I defy the ingenuity of man, in a shorter compass, more completely to baffle and puzzle the human understanding. Gentlemen, Mr. Mellish's speech certainly had these characteristics of wit, it was unquestionably both short and surprising ; but, Gentlemen, though I have not hitherto had the good fortune to make my principles understood by Mr. Mellish, it does seem, that yesterday, however, a sort of light broke in upon him ;---and, though I did not lay down any principle, but merely made some few general observations on topics which I thought it my duty to notice, he did, however, seem to think, that he had some kind of glimmering light, as to the principles which I had before professed.—Gentlemen, I only say that I suppose that to have been the case. Mr. Mellish says he has made a most wonderful discovery, which is, that I was endeavouring to instil my principles into his. Now, Gentlemen, how this curious process should be brought about, how Mr. Mellish has made that most surprising discovery, by what means it is to be effected, how my Jacobinical principles, which
he

he has not been able hitherto to understand, should be somehow or other instilled into his principles, which I have not had the good fortune to learn, is something so extraordinary that I can hardly help envying Mr. Mellish the merit of so singular and so whimsical a discovery.---Gentlemen, Mr. Mellish must certainly have dived far into the depths of science,---he must have found out some new process of chemical morality, by which this curious process of infiltration of my principles into his was to be effected ;---he must have dived into the depths of science, deeper than line or plummet ever fathomed ; and I cannot imagine where he could apply, or from whence he could have obtained, this most extraordinary secret, unless he has extracted it from the profound erudition, and elaborate libels, of his friend Mr. Bowles.---Gentlemen, I much regret, and I have no doubt Mr. Mellish also regrets, that he loses the benefit of Mr. Byng's presence upon these Hustings, who seems to have abdicated his situation. Mr. Mellish would possibly not have thought himself in so much danger from my Jacobinical principles, had Mr. Byng stood as a party-wall between us, which would have prevented the heat of my raging Jacobinism from affecting him.—In passing through the negative medium of Mr. Byng's Whiggism, my Jacobinical principles would possibly have become harmless, and been divested of their malignity, before they got to Mr. Mellish.---Gentlemen, I hope Mr. Mellish will, for your benefit, who are not yet infected with those Jacobin principles which I profess, discover to you this strange and singular process of his, and
will

will afford you an antidote to the poison which he thinks so dangerous, that he is afraid of avowing any principle of his own,---he is afraid of putting forth any particle of his own principles,---for fear they should become contaminated immediately by the neighbourhood in which he is placed.---Gentlemen, Mr. Mellish certainly addressed you yesterday more in the style of an Oracle than of an Orator! with this special difference, however, that the darkness and obscurity of the Oracles of old, was owing to their containing a great variety of meanings, according to the way in which the words that composed them were placed; but, Gentlemen, the darkness and obscurity of Mr. Mellish's speech arises from its containing no meaning at all, let the words be placed in what way you will.---Gentlemen, Mr. Mellish has been as reserved in his principles, he has kept them as close, as he keeps GOLD at the BANK;---he will no more give you an opinion, than a guinea;---but, Gentlemen, I should have hoped, that, if he had no sterling coin, he at least would have treated you as well as he treats his CUSTOMERS at the BANK, and have given you a promissory note, although those notes only contain a promise to promise, still we should have preferred to have them, rather than to have nothing;---and I think Mr. Mellish, at the same time, might have fairly pledged himself, without any infringement of the judicious caution he has so strictly observed, to discharge both obligations together.---Gentlemen, I will for once run the risk of making a prophecy, and foretel what will be the language and conduct of Mr. Byng and Mr. Mellish, when you shall have

returned them, if you do return them, your members. I think, Gentlemen, you will find, that they will run in unison with those of the other CANDIDATES to whom I have before alluded, and that you will hear nothing but of the great sacrifices you are to make.---Gentlemen, in saying this, I shall, however, qualify it a little, because I will prophecy, that they will either hold this language, or hold their tongues. One would suppose, by the language of all the Candidates returned to this now-coming Parliament, that no sacrifices had hitherto been made by the people:---one would imagine, that every resource was left unimpaired;---we hear one Gentleman, the TREASURER of the NAVY, talking of cheerfully sacrificing even the very necessaries of life. What, have they not been sacrificed already? have they not taken all? does not the tax-gatherer take the beds from under you? does not the tax-gatherer take your cloaths from off your backs? would they take your skin too, and still ask for more sacrifices? [*Here many persons answered No---No---and many others Yes---Yes*] I say, Yes, too, if the sacred call of country demands it;---but never, by my consent, to gratify the insatiable avarice of PENSIONERS, PLACEMEN, and EXPECTANTS, venal ORATORS, and state EMPIRICS.

Mr. MELLISH.—“Gentlemen, I again return you my warmest thanks for the honour you have this day done me, and I have only two or three words further to say; these are, Gentlemen, to assure you that the attacks of the Hon. Baronet cannot possibly produce any influence upon my mind or conduct.

TWELFTH DAY.

Saturday, November 22.

At the close of the poll, the numbers were as follow :—

William Mellish, Esq. . . .	2792
George Byng, Esq. . . .	2074
Sir Francis Burdett	748

Mr. BYNG made his bow and retired.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.—Gentlemen ; Although you have paid every attention due to the Gentleman near me, (Mr. Mellish) an attention excited, perhaps, a little by the curiosity you probably have, in common, participated with me to hear some explanation of the curious mystery he announced to us on a former day, yet we not having obtained any explanation, he thinks, I flatter myself, that, upon this occasion, you may be more fortunate, as well as myself.—Gentlemen ; Mr. Mellish seems to be as determined to keep his secret as close as Launce, the Clown, in one of Shakespear's Plays ; who, speaking of his love, says, " that is a secret, that a team of horses shall not draw from me."—Gentlemen ; Mr. Mellish yesterday favoured us but with one observation, and that not a very gracious one ; Mr. Mellish observed, that all I had said had no effect whatever upon his mind ; that my speeches were totally lost upon him. I will not return Mr. Mellish so bad a compliment ; I can assure you, that his speeches—I should rather say, his speech (for he has

favoured us with only one during the course of this Election); that speech, containing the great discovery before alluded to, was not, I can assure him, lost upon me, Gentlemen; I might add "*but the contrary,*" to use the language of Mr. Byng, who, I trust, will not grudge me the use of it, as he seems to make none of it himself.—Gentlemen; when my mind recovered from the surprize and astonishment with which it was overwhelmed, upon the first announcement of Mr. Mellish's great discovery, I began immediately to think within myself, and to form conjectures, how it was possible for him to have obtained it! Gentlemen, I have heard many grave and learned men, in the defence of abstruse subjects, state it as their opinion, that, although many of their objects were unattainable, that frequently, in the pursuit, they stumbled upon some sort of useful discovery, which turned out afterwards to the great benefit of mankind. Now, Gentlemen, considering it in this point of view, I was at a loss to imagine what great pursuit or object Mr. Mellish could have been endeavouring to obtain, when he had the good fortune to hit upon his lucky discovery; and, Gentlemen, after a great deal of consideration with myself, (after weighing maturely a variety of points—after considering the situation of Mr. Mellish, as a Bank Director), considering how valuable a commodity, especially just now, GOLD must be at the Bank, it immediately struck my mind, that, when Mr. Mellish hit upon this magnificent new discovery of his, he could have been in pursuit of no other object, than that of the philosopher's stone;

and,

and, Gentlemen, it must be a great comfort to you to think, that, when Mr. Mellish shall have found out the philosopher's stone, the Bank will resume its payments in cash.—Gentlemen; I hope that this success of Mr. Mellish will not tend, in any way, to retard him in his original pursuit; but, on the contrary, that this lucky discovery of his will only operate as a stimulus to his future exertions; because, I am persuaded, notwithstanding the slight opinion Mr. Mellish has been pleased to express of me, I am firmly persuaded, that there is no man more likely to find out the philosopher's stone than himself. Mr. Mellish has the goodness to inform me, and I thank him for it, that it was not of me, but of my principles, that he thought lightly.—Gentlemen; This calls to my mind an historical fact I have read in a great poet. It is recorded by that great moral historian, Ben Johnson, in his *Alchymist*, that this wise and learned man, this alchymist, after many years of severe labour and study in pursuits, like those of Mr. Mellish, after the philosopher's stone, did at length, towards the conclusion of his days, in his grey hairs, and his cheer days, make a discovery, not indeed of the philosopher's stone, but a discovery perhaps more useful to mankind; he discovered, Gentlemen, a cure for the itch. Now, Gentlemen, although Ben Johnson's *Alchymist* certainly will bear away the palm of the discovery, considered only in the point of utility,—yet, I must still be of opinion, that Mr. MELLISH, in point of ingenuity, and novelty, and subtilty of thought, will, in the estimation at least of the learned few, maintain the precedence,

precedence,—and continue a long time their delight ; —to please which few, such, for instance, as his profound and learned friend Mr. BOWLES and his compeers, if, indeed, that Gentleman is **not** altogether peerless, which I shall not take upon me to determine,—but certainly, it must be more glorious and honourable to Mr. MELLISH to please those learned few, than either to serve, or please, the Swinish Multitude, in general.—Gentlemen ; It is an observation, not quite so novel as the discovery of Mr. MELLISH, that, in this our lot and condition of humanity no valuable thing can be obtained without considerable pains and labour. It is equally true that the pains and labour we bestow upon any object, in order to acquire it, is perhaps, the best criterion of the estimation in which we hold it. Gentlemen ; I trust, then, that you will see, and that Mr. MELLISH will see, the high value I put upon his sentiments and opinions, if I could hear them, by the pains and labour that I have been at, in endeavouring to elicit a principle, or an opinion from him. But, Gentlemen, I begin to fear, that, unless I should be as much favoured by good fortune and inspiration, as he has been in making that wonderful discovery of the power of instilling unknown principles, into principles unknown, unless I should have the good fortune to discover some process of distillation, by which his principles, in spite of himself, may be distilled from him, I shall at length, I believe, give up all such attempts in future in despair.—Gentlemen ; upon this point Mr. MELLISH seems to be even more discreet and secret than the sapient lord BUR-

LEY, in the Critic;—he will not even afford us a shake of the head.—Gentlemen; I shall only make one further observation, and take my leave of you. It is this; I am persuaded, that if Ministers had been but half as wise as Mr. MELLISH,—had they known half as well how to keep an advantage, when obtained, Europe, would not, in all probability, have been in the condition in which we now see it.”

Mr. MELLISH. “Gentlemen, I thank you for your support. If the worthy Baronet’s speeches please you, I can have no objection to them.”

THIRTEENTH DAY.

Monday, November 24.

At the close of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

William Mellish Esq.	2894
George Byng Esq.	2133
Sir Francis Burdett	901

Mr. BYNG made his accustomed bow, and retired, amidst the uproar and laughter of the crowd.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.—Gentlemen; After the very honourable exertion which the independent interest of the County has made this day in its own and my behalf, I cannot refrain from returning them my thanks, at the same time that I must lay in
that

that claim of credit to them which I did upon a former occasion, when I stated, what every one must be aware of, that those Freeholders who come forward in my favour must come forward free of all suspicion of every kind of improper motive or undue influence.—This, Gentlemen, I must think is no more than due to their merit.—Gentlemen; It is acknowledged, I think, on all hands, and by persons of every different description, that the present situation of this Country is calamitous beyond all precedent, and that the burdens of the people are great beyond all former example.—Gentlemen; this, then, being the acknowledged situation of affairs, it does seem to but a rational and a just enquiry to attempt to know how the Country has been brought into that calamitous situation, and who are the persons who have been doing the mischief of which we complain.—Gentlemen; It is a common and a well known principle, and uniformly acted upon by persons in magisterial situations, well known to the Magistrates of this and of every County in England, and particularly the Metropolis, that wherever a robbery has been committed, the way to enquire into the authors of that crime, if they are at that time unknown, and the way followed always, is to look about and find out what persons happen unexpectedly to be flush of money at the time, who appear to have derived benefit from the perpetration of the crime.—Gentlemen; this is a principle so rational, which has been always acted upon by men of great sense and experience in matters of a private concern and is so much more applicable to matters of a public nature, is so less liable to error, where nations and states and public

public persons are concerned, that I cannot think it an improper mode of pursuing the enquiry at present into the affairs and the present state of the Country. Now, Gentlemen, if there are persons and families who have sprung out of the filth and corruption, as mushrooms and funguses spring out of filth and ordure; if there are persons who, in the midst of public calamity, have their own affairs increasing in prosperity—if there are persons and families who, like evil weeds growing out of ruins, shoot their pernicious roots into every rotten part, corner, and crevice of the building, thriving and supporting themselves, and drawing succour from the very mischief they occasion—if there are such persons and families thriving in the midst of public mischief—if there are persons and families who have grown great as the Country has grown small, who have been prosperous as our calamities have extended, whose fortunes have risen as those of the Country have fallen—if there are any such persons, and any man will point them out to me, I will in return point out to him the authors of the Country's ruin.—[*Bursts of applause.*]—Gentlemen; when I looked at the different Speeches and the Addresses which have been exhibited before the public, by those persons who have been returned Members to the now coming Parliament; when I looked particularly to the speeches of Mr. Thornton, of Mr. Wilberforce, of Mr. Sheridan, and of various other persons who never agreed in any other point but the one I shall mention, in which they do agree—when I see such a union of sanctity and profligacy of loyalty and

Jacobinism, but uniting in this one point, that enormous sacrifices are to be made by the people, I do think that persons returned under those circumstances, and holding that language, call to my mind more than that of the meeting of an English Parliament, a meeting which we are told of, of the Counsellors of Rehoboam. They seem to me to be holding just that language—"our predecessors," said those wicked Counsellors, "scourged the people with whips, but we will scourge them with scorpions."—Gentlemen; It is also my firm persuasion, that you will find the little finger of this now coming Parliament to weigh more heavily and more grievously upon the loins of the people, than the whole body even of the last."

Mr. MELLISH.—"Gentlemen, I shall only return you my best thanks for the exertions you have this day made in my behalf, and then take my leave."

FOURTEENTH DAY.

Tuesday, November 25.

At the close of the poll, the numbers were, for

William Mellish, Esq.	. . .	2009
George Byng, Esq.	. . .	2198
Sir Francis Burdett	. . .	1016

Mr. BYNG made his accustomed bow and retired.

Sir

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, &c. Gentlemen; In addressing the few words I shall have to address to you this day, I shall begin with observing, with a considerable degree of satisfaction and exultation, that the independent spirit of the County has for the two last days placed me in a very respectable situation indeed upon the poll. Gentlemen; this must be highly gratifying to me, and it is also gratifying to me to observe, that at this late period of the Election the Freeholders seem to be more inclined to come forward, as if the effect of the first misrepresentations and calumnies that were propagated with respect to me and my conduct began considerably to wear off. Gentlemen, I shall only observe, that there at present remain a sufficient number of Freeholders to turn the Election in my favor if they shall think fit to make any such exertion for that purpose;—at all events, I can assure them, that they will not find me wanting in my duty, which is to appear here, and to give them all the opportunities which the law allows to come forward if they are so disposed.—Gentlemen; when I look at the poll and see 1016 unsolicited, unasked-for votes, and uninfluenced, I cannot but look upon this Election, however it may terminate, as a contest ending triumphantly for myself.—Gentlemen, when I recollect all the influences which have been used for my opponent—when I recollect all the various modes by which Freeholders in this County particularly may be influenced, and that I have stood unconnected with any party possessing power, or what is commonly called political influence, in the Country, standing

barely upon public principle alone, I cannot consider this state of the poll as in any way reflecting upon the County itself or upon myself in particular. ---Gentleman; having expressed my compleat satisfaction, therefore, with those exertions which have been hitherto used in my favor, I shall take the liberty of stating one or two things to you with respect to the opinions and sentiments I have maintained, and do maintain, upon the situation of this Country; and I do it, because it is upon those grounds *alone* that I ask for the support of the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, and if they do not agree with me in opinion---if they do not coincide with me in sentiment. I am free to declare that I am a very unfit representative for them to return to Parliament.---Gentlemen; it has been my persuasion ever since I have been able to come forward and to consider political subjects, that a system has been adopted in this Country most inimical to the best interests of the people, and most dangerous to the independence of the Country. Gentlemen; persuaded, strongly persuaded of that opinion, I have done every thing in my power to interrupt that progress which has produced the present calamitous situation of the Country, and, if I could, to recall back that old free English Constitution which formerly formed the basis of its happiness, its prosperity, and its security.---Gentlemen I cannot believe that Barracks, Soup-shops, Work-houses, Collectors of Taxes palaces,---[*Here an interruption took place, many persons on the hustings hissing.*]---I am afraid by this that there are some Gentlemen near me to whom
this

this is rather touching a sore part ; but Gentlemen, every one knows, that however painful may be the operation, however disagreeable to the person who performs it, if an ulcer is to be cured it must be probed to the bottom.---Gentlemen ; I was stating my persuasion, that those grievances which I before enumerated were not the genuine produce of the old Constitution of England—that being the case, and I having done every thing in my power to arrest the progress of the new-system, of which these are the formidable component parts—having done all I could to arrest that progress which has ended in the present dangerous and calamitous condition of the Country, I have only to say to the Freeholders of Middlesex, that if they are satisfied with the present situation of affairs they will do well to continue to support the Gentleman near me, who has been uniformly supporting that system while I have been uniformly opposing it.—Gentlemen ; In taking my leave of you this day I shall only put my pretensions to your support upon these grounds---It is for you to judge---it is your interests which are concerned ---and however you may determine, the result will be perfectly satisfactory to me.”

Mr. MELLISH.---“ Gentlemen, I return you my thanks for the honour and support you have this day conferred upon me. By looking at the poll you will see what a very great majority I have (*A loud uproar.*) This, Gentlemen, is the Hon. Baronet’s own expression ; and I hope you will continue your exertions.”

*A Polled Freeholder's Letter to the Independent
Freeholders of Middlesex.*

Gentlemen; If to return Mr. Mellish be your only wish, no farther exertions are requisite; but if you have a higher and more important object in view, namely, to restore peace and order to this distracted County, too long a prey to Jacobin Faction, then I ask, is the present state of the poll calculated to obtain that object? Certainly not. Nothing less than carrying the poll of the popular Candidate out of sight of his opponents, will convince the Democrats that the Electors of Middlesex, loyal and free themselves, are resolved to be represented in future by none but those who are so. Every Freeholder, therefore, who has not yet polled, should put this question to himself: Is it not my bounden duty to add my vote to the present majority, and how shall I answer it to my country, if, through my indolence, the County of Middlesex should again be subjected to the same mischiefs and outrages which have so long disturbed the peace of the County, and endangered its independence?—If every voter, who is a sincere friend to his Country, would now come forward and exercise his franchise, Sir F. Burdett, and all who hold his principles (if principles they may be called) would learn, that the Freeholders of this County will no longer be duped by a faction, or scared by a mob. Mr. Byng and his adherents would learn, that those who hope in future to represent honest and independent men, must themselves be independent and honest: and Mr.

Mellish

Mellish himself would learn, that unless his conduct shall correspond with his professions, he must never more hope to be member for Middlesex.—Gentlemen, delays are dangerous; the poll closes on Thursday; the losing Candidates strain every nerve to swell their polls. If you delay to the last moment what has already been postponed too long, you may find to your confusion that you have come an hour too late.

A POLLED FREEHOLDER.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

Wednesday, November 26.

At the close of the poll the numbers were,

William Mellish, Esq. . . .	3089
George Byng, Esq. . . .	2243
Sir Francis Burdett,	1071

Mr. BYNG made his bow and retired.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.—“ Gentlemen; After the disapprobation which was expressed yesterday by some persons near me, in consequence of some topics introduced into my Address to you, it will be very difficult for me indeed to speak upon the present situation of this country, so as not to incur the displeasure of those persons. You all know how difficult it is to touch any sore or tender part, so as not to give sensations of uneasiness to the persons who labour under those
com-

complaints.—Gentlemen; notwithstanding that displeasure, I must confess I do not at all regret, nor shall I be withheld from expressing my sentiments freely upon such abuses, as I conceive it to be essential to the Country to have reformed. On the contrary, Gentlemen, I am rather pleased at the displeasure of certain persons, not merely at the displeasing them, but because that is a proof to me that I am touching upon those points on which it is essential for you to hear me.—Gentlemen; the anger of yesterday appears not to have confined itself merely to the disapprobation of the Gentlemen who heard me at the time, because it has produced an advertisement in the papers of this day, which proves to me that they have carried home with them the displeasure which they before expressed at this place. I hold in my hand a very curious advertisement signed “A Freeholder;” but at the same time the marks and the features of this advertisement are so strong, that I cannot be at a loss to state who has produced it.—Gentlemen; the topics introduced in it compel me to believe that it must be the production, either of the hired libeller Mr. Bowles, or the hired informer Mr. Redhead York.] —[*Here an interruption took place, some exclaiming, “Shame! Shame!” and others “Don’t libel people here.”*] Some Gentlemen cry out “Shame!” but they think it no shame to put in print the most scandalous accusations against me—the most scandalous misrepresentations—to represent me as what they please to term a Jacobin, and the worst enemy to the Country and the Constitution of England—
they

they think that no shame, and they feel no repugnance so to hold me up to the public.---The Gentleman who wrote this advertisement says, that the object of this Election is to preserve this County, too long distracted by Jacobinical principles, from becoming a prey to a Jacobin Faction. As to faction, I should like the person who wrote this, or any other person, to point out in what that faction consists, or where that faction exists. I should like them at the same time that they use these words to be so good as to annex to them an explanation, that we may understand at least what they are at.---Gentlemen, as to Faction, do we not know that there can be no faction but of men from interested motives, combining against the public good for their own private and individual emolument. Can faction, or did faction ever put forward or depend upon public principle, and you will judge between us which are the interested parties, and who has most candidly explained his public principles upon this and upon every other occasion.—Gentlemen ; they choose to use the word Faction as they do the word Jacobin, merely as a term of general abuse, and which affixes upon them no particular meaning ; but I will affix a meaning to that term, and under that term I think they themselves come ; because I do look upon them as a connected set of men---not connected by public principle of any kind, but by private and individual interest.---Gentlemen ; you all know that where there is a reward, where ever a profit is to be had, there will be the interested persons. You all know, that where the carcass is there will be the vultures also ;

you know well that we have no carcase, that we have nothing to afford ; that we hold forth nothing to the Independent Frecholders of Middlesex but public constitutional principles ; upon those grounds I have asked their support, and therefore I retort upon those persons the aspersions they are willing to cast upon me, and I declare that I do hold them in the light in which they wish to uphold me, and consider them as the most dangerous as well as the most interested Faction in this Country. The same Gentleman says, " That the principles I have professed, if principles they may be called"---Now, if they would but be explicit---if they would but let us understand what they mean by principle---if they themselves understand what they mean, I trust they will be kind enough to explain to me how they can entertain any doubt as to what I have laid before you as my principles, and not only principles professed, but principles upon which I have uniformly acted.---Gentlemen ; In the same advertisement, it is said, that Mr. Mellish, too, must learn, that unless his conduct shall correspond with his professions, he must never more hope to be Member for Middlesex. Now, this is also very curious, because we have not had the good fortune yet to hear any professions from Mr. Mellish, and why those friends of his should talk of that on which he holds his tongue, is for him and not for me to explain.---Gentlemen ; with the same degree of candour and truth this advertisement concludes with stating, that I have strained every nerve to swell my poll. Now, Gentlemen, I should guess at least from some of the
votes

votes that were taken yesterday, that the Candidate near me had certainly strained every nerve to swell his poll, because I did observe polling yesterday Mr. Mainwaring, the Justice, and Mr. Daniel Hindley, the Clerk, and I did expect to see as a proper accompaniment to the other two, Mr. Aris, the Gaoler; probably you may have the satisfaction to see him poll to-morrow.---Gentlemen; I have only further to observe to the Independent Freeholders, that there are still abundantly sufficient voters unpolled to carry the Election upon the principles, and for the interest on which I stand;—whether they shall be pleased so to exert themselves is for their consideration, and it interests them to the full as much as it can me.”

Mr. MELLISH.---“Gentlemen; I return you my best thanks for the honour you have done me.”

Mr. Bowles's Letter to Sir Francis Burdett.

SIR,

In several of your speeches from the Hustings, during this Election, you have thought proper to allude to me, personally, and you have twice applied to me the odious term of “libeller.” As far as these allusions affect myself, I can have no inducement to notice them; for they cannot injure me in the opinion of those on whose approbation I set any value; but, as they may seem to imply a contradiction of what I have published respecting you, public considerations forbid me to pass them over in silence: and, as the Sheriff of Middlesex has judiciously re-

solved to confine the privilege of addressing the Freeholders to the Candidates, I have no other opportunity of noticing them, than through the medium of the Press.—I am aware, that the term libeller is equivocal, and I am anxious to know in what sense you have applied it to me.—It is well known, that, according to the law of England, truth may be a libel; and, if your charge be intended merely to impute to me what is libellous in point of law, I beg you to remember, that the conduct of some men is of such a nature, that it is impossible to comment freely upon it, without being chargeable with a libel, in the legal sense of the term. But the expression, libellous, frequently involves a charge of calumny; and it is an apprehension that you may have used it in this sense, which induces me, for the reason above stated, now to address you.—It has fallen to my lot, Sir, to have animadverted, more perhaps than any other individual, on your public conduct; and particularly on your calumnies, with regard to the Prison in Cold-Bath-Fields; and on the atrocious proceedings which were resorted to at the Elections in 1802 and 1804, to procure your return as a Representative for the County of Middlesex; and besides what I have thus published with my name, candour requires me, on this occasion, to avow the anonymous Pamphlet, which appeared soon after the last Middlesex Election, under the title of “An Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, by an attentive Observer, &c.” But in this, as well as my other publications on the above subjects, I took
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the utmost pains to avoid the slightest inaccuracy; and had I been capable of wilful misrepresentation, I should have pursued the same course; for the truth did not want, and indeed could not receive, any higher colouring, than belonged to it in its native garb. But as you, Sir, have thought proper publicly to represent me as a libeller, I am impelled, in justice to the cause of loyalty and order, which I have endeavoured, to the utmost of my ability, to defend, to challenge you to disprove any of the charges which I have advanced against you.

I am, Sir, &c.

JOHN BOWLES.

Bloomsbury-square, Nov. 26. 1806.

*A Freeholder's Letter to the Freeholders of
Middlesex.*

Gentlemen; Sir F. Burdett, in his speech of yesterday, began with observing, that the displeasure expressed by certain persons, at some parts of his speech of the day before, proved that he had touched those persons in a sore place. He immediately afterwards proceeded to comment upon an advertisement which appeared this morning in the public Papers; and by the displeasure which he expressed at that advertisement, he proved, according to the rule he had just before laid down, that it touched him in a sore place. The part which seemed chiefly to make him writhe, was that which contained the expression "Jacobin Faction;" on
which

which he expatiated with much warmth, and with personal abuse of some Gentlemen, who doubtless think it an honour to be abused by him. If he had not professed to be ignorant of the meaning of the term, "Jacobin Faction," the anger which it seemed to excite in his breast would have led any one to believe, that his conscience had made a most feeling application of that term. To enlighten him however, upon so important a subject, it may not be amis to inform him, that the term in question implies a Faction, which endangers the very existence of Government, and of social order, by inflaming the passions of the multitude, by promoting a spirit of insubordination, by stimulating the lower orders against the higher, the poor against the rich, and the profligate against the law, the magistrates and the prisons; a faction which, if it should succeed, by such means, to acquire an ascendancy, would tyrannise, with despotic sway, over those deluded mortals whom it had made the stalking-horse of its ambition; and which has, therefore, most justly been described "as a desperate faction, not less hostile to the people whom it flatters, than to the throne which it seeks to subvert." Such a faction lately succeeded, by such means, in overthrowing the monarchy of France, and in establishing, upon its ruins, a despotism more galling than the world had ever before known. Such a faction lately attempted to overthrow the monarchy of England; and, by the means of Corresponding Societies, and Jacobin Clubs, was in a fair way of effecting its purpose, until its real designs were unmasked and frustrated by
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the detection of Sir F. Burdett's quondam friends, the O'Coigleys, the O'Connors, and the Despards ! Let Sir Francis recollect the schemes of these miscreants, and their abettors, and he will be no longer at a loss to understand the meaning of the term " Jacobin Faction." I am, &c.

A FREEHOLDER.

SIXTEENTH AND LAST DAY.

Thursday, November 27.

At the Final Close of the Poll, the numbers were, for

William Mellish, Esq. . . .	3213
George Byng, Esq. . . .	2304
Sir Francis Burdett	1197

The SHERIFF then came forward, and formally declared, that William Mellish, Esq. and George Byng, Esq. were duly elected.—This declaration was followed by a mixture of applause and disapprobation. Sir W. GIBBONS moved the Thanks of the Freeholders to Messrs. Miles and Branscombe, which being seconded by Mr. Clifford, was carried without a dissentient voice.

Mr. MELLISH took his place upon the Hustings, amidst the vociferations of his friends, and spoke as follows:—" Gentlemen, I shall only say one word ; I will not be long, I assure you-- (*The noise continued.*) If you will not hear me, I shall make my bow, and retire. Gentlemen, I say, that proud I am, and proud I ought to be, of the trust you have reposed

reposed in me. The voice of the County has spoken so decidedly in my favour, that I shall only say, that I am gratefully sensible of the honour the Freeholders have conferred upon me, and I will never desert their interests." (*A mixture of applause and disapprobation followed.*)

Mr. BYNG came forward amidst the prevailing hisses of the multitude, and finding it impossible to obtain a hearing, exclaimed---" I beg leave to return the Freeholders my best thanks for the honour they have done me this day," and retired. (*A Freeholder observed, that Mr. Byng had taken his last farewell of the County of Middlesex.*)

Mr. Mellish was then conducted to an ornamented car, hung with blue drapery, and placed in his barouche, in which he was chaired round the Market Place, and across the Butts, accompanied by his friends.

Mr. Byng followed next, in a chair decorated with laurel, and preceded with orange and blue flags. He was carried over the same ground as Mr. Mellish, supported by his friends.---During this time,

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT remained upon the hustings, and when the procession had passed away, he addressed the Freeholders to the following effect:—" Gentlemen ; So humble a man am I, though represented by many persons as of so lofty and aspiring a mind, that, even in my present circumstances, I do not at all envy the triumphant exit of the two Candidates who have just left you, now become your Members, but am quite satisfied and content with my own situation—Gentlemen ; I think

think it first my duty to return thanks to the Freeholders who have come forward in my support in a manner I trust as honorable to themselves as to me.—Having said that much, I shall go on to make one or two observations which I think it necessary to make before I take my leave of you for the last time—[*Some cried out, “ I hope not.”*—Gentlemen; when I said that, I meant that at all times I shall be proud and happy to be considered as the servant of the independent Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, and they may be assured that at no time will they find any tergiversation in my conduct—any abandonment of my principles, or any disinclination on my part to promote their interests.—Gentlemen; I am afraid that in taking my leave of you this day, I shall be no more fortunate in pleasing many persons whom I had not the good fortune to please yesterday or the day before, than I had at that time; but, standing here before the County of Middlesex, called upon by honor and gratitude to them to place myself in a public situation, I hold myself bound to do my duty to them—which is fairly and explicitly giving them my opinion on all subjects which I think connected with their interests.—Gentlemen; as I complained yesterday of an anonymous Libel under the signature of “ A Freeholder” and which I guessed must have come from the pen, the patriotic and disinterested pen, either of Mr. Bowles or of Mr. Redhead Yorke the Spy, so I have to complain to day of another Letter signed in the same way, “ A Freeholder,” containing similar calumnies against me, and it will be my duty

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before

before I leave you, to make one or two short observations on that letter, connected as it is with another letter where the Libeller is unmasked—for it is signed with the name of Mr. Bowles.--Considering both these wonderful pieces of workmanship as coming from the same shop---being certain that they were manufactured in the same forge---I shall indiscriminately mention one or the other as containing the sentiments of those persons.---Gentlemen; in the first of these Letters are again reiterated all those stale and worn out accusations of Jacobins and Jacobin Factions.---Gentlemen; I yesterday stated what I conceive to be the nature of a Faction, and those Gentlemen would do well to shew that they do not come under that description: but as for me, Gentlemen, the use of the word Faction is, upon the face of it, ridiculous and contemptible. I, standing here in such a manner as scarcely any man has ever come before the public, in the teeth of all parties and factions, with no interest—with no motive—with no means of rewarding those who support me—unless the generosity of their own minds can reward them by the consciousness of contributing essentially to the safety and honor of their Country—standing upon no other ground but that, I should have thought that the most senseless and absurd word that could have been picked out of the dictionary would have been that very word “Faction” which those Gentlemen have adopted.—But, Gentlemen, it seems that I have been attempting to excite the poor against the rich—to excite disgust of social order and fair govern-

government—that I have been attempting to overturn all the orders of the state, and, if I could, the very existence of civil society. [*Here many cried out No, No, it is not so—you never have.*—]—Now Gentlemen, what is it of which I complain? I complain of a departure from law—I complain of justice not being impartially distributed—I complain of interested men being intrusted with great and unconstitutional powers by the exercise of which no man feels himself to be safe—innocence has no protection—no man can look for justice or for safety.—This, then, is the system of which I complain.—Gentlemen; it is further stated by Mr. Bowles, or rather he wishes to ask me the question, whether I mean by calling him a Libeller merely in the legal sense of the term, which, by the bye, he does not understand, as I shall presently shew you—whether I mean according to Law, by which he says truth *is* a Libel.”—[*Mr. Clifford. Mr. Bowles corrects you—he says, “ may be a Libel.”*—]—Gentlemen, I will put it either way, that truth *is* a Libel or *may be* a Libel; it is indifferent to me which he means.—Upon this point I am at issue with this renowned and famous Barrister, this profound Politician, this supporter of a Constitution which he does not understand—I am at issue with him in point of fact—I deny that according to the Laws and Constitution of England, and according to common sense, which is always analogous to it, Truth can be a Libel—I know well that by the late scandalous practices—that by the late dictum of a learned judge, but the most unconstitutional that ever sat upon the Bench, I mean the late lord Mansfield—that has been

laid down, and I know that from that construction of the Law which he for the time dared to lay down, that monstrous position has since been maintained--but I say, that that is not according to the principles of the Constitution of England, nay that it is not according to the forms of that Constitution, which always when it suits their purpose they can easily get over--the Law of England--Then Gentlemen, I mean most distinctly and explicitly to say, that when I called Mr. Bowles a Libeller, I meant it according to the old term--the constitutional description of a Libel. I meant plainly to say that it was both false and malicious. Then Gentlemen, from this Mr. Bowles's own confession of being a Libeller--we have moreover two instances of Libels by him, one of which was proved before a Committee of the House of Commons--I mean that concerning the Nottingham Election, and the other on the late Duke of Bedford--Then he stands a Libeller, by confession,--of two false and malicious Libels convicted;—and I say moreover, that he is a hired Libeller.—Now gentlemen, you will observe then, that the mere term Libeller, which Mr. Bowles takes up, is not the term of reproach that I meant to affix to him or to any man—because I know that in bad times the best men are the most liable to incur convictions of Libels, because the men who feel most strongly for the interests of their country and for the liberties of the people are most likely to feel the grievances of the people, to stand up in defence of the people, and to maintain the Constitution.—Therefore, gentlemen, I again repeat, that it is not being a Libeller that I throw in the teeth of Mr. Bowles—for
he

he might have been an honorable Libeller—but it is being a hired Libeller which makes the weight of my charge.—Now, Gentlemen, it is reported strongly—it is a report to which I give complete credit—that I believe can be proved—that not many years ago this same Mr. Bowles, this very zealous Advocate for all those abuses which now exist, was a very few years ago upon the eve of despairing and of departing from this Country to go and take refuge from the then abuses, which were not a ten thousandth part of those which have been heaped upon the people since, in that Asylum of Freedom, across the Atlantic.—Now Gentlemen, I have never so far despaired of the Country. I am willing to remain and take my fate with it. Gentlemen, whether those reports and rumors are true or not, Mr. Bowles possesses the means of making clear to the public—observe whether he does it or not.—Gentlemen ; as to the motives of Mr. Bowles's conduct ; are they not the ordinary and common—the most vulgar motives of self interest that can give impulse to human action ?—Was Mr. Bowles the great advocate of every existing abuse until he had tasted the honey of corruption—until he had tasted the sweets of Dutch Prizes ?—Mr. Bowles will explain that among many other things which it will not be for me but for him to detail to you.—Gentlemen, with the same candor, with the same justice, with the same good sense, as upon all other occasions, and as I stated before, the Letter of yesterday was closed, is this Letter of to day closed, with calling upon me to disprove the accusations

tions it contains. Why, Gentlemen, it did not require being bred to the Bar to know that no man can be called upon to prove the negative of an accusation; but it is for those who have the effrontery to make a charge, to make it good, or they must stand dishonourably convicted of false and malicious Libel.---Gentlemen, there is an opinion that I have ventured to promulgate, which has met with no small opposition from persons of all factions and parties, which seems to have had an influence like that attributed to sympathy, to Galvanism, or rather to Animal Magnetism---which has touched, as it seems, the sensible part of every Placeman from one end of the Kingdom to the other---without any other connection they all seem to join in this one note, and with one accord we have Mr. Tierney in the Borough, and we have Mr. Windham in Norfolk, who both have places, and Mr. Whitbread, who would have a place---stating, that they think it something so nonsensical that no man can contend for a moment that it is unconstitutional or dangerous to the Country, that the men who hold lucrative Offices under the Crown should be also the representatives of the people:---They call it a principle of the *new* school, but I say it is a principle of the *old* school,--that those persons have forgotten it—like the fashions out of memory which have been so long disused, all the good old principles of England have been so long disused that persons get up and deny even that they ever existed.---Gentlemen; according to the Constitution it was settled by Law, and if any thing can be called the Constitution unquestionably the

Act of Settlement must be---by that Law it is enacted, that no person shall hold a seat in Parliament having at the same time a place under the Crown. That has since been departed from for corrupt purposes, and has been repealed by special Act of Parliament---but which at the same time so far acknowledges the principle, though it departs from it on the ground of expediency in practice, that as soon as a man accepts of a place he is obliged to go through the form and mockery of abandoning his seat and trying a second Election---Then, do these Gentlemen think to persuade us out of our senses? do they hold the understandings of Englishmen so cheap that they can be imposed upon with such flimsy pretences, or are those men so blinded by self interest, are their minds which upon other occasions appear to be clear and acute, so blinded when self-interest comes between them and the object of their ambition, that they cannot comprehend one of the plainest and clearest propositions of the law of England?—Why, Gentlemen, it is no more consonant to the law than it is to common sense. The principle which I state is that on which they would always act in their private affairs; for what man on earth ever yet contended that it was fit the same Attorney should manage a cause for two contending parties? I say that the representatives of the people are the Attorneys of the people—they were so denominated according to the old forms of the Constitution, and when they were returned to Parliament they had Letters of Attorney to empower them to act for the persons they represented.—Why,

then, as it is impossible for an Attorney honestly to conduct two opposite interests with reference to private affairs, it is infinitely more so with regard to matters of a public and political nature, where private morality has so much to contend with, where the temptations are so much stronger, and where the consequences of misconduct are much less likely to fall on the persons who misconduct themselves.—On public ground, therefore, with reference to public affairs, the principle acquires tenfold strength, and is more necessary to be adhered to.—I simply, then, state, and am ready to maintain at all times, that according to the Constitution of England, which supposes no Utopian system of perfection, which supports in all cases the just prerogatives of the Crown, there is established a check and a control from abuse on the part of the Crown by the Representatives of the People. I do say, that that system goes on the idea of jealousy between the parts, and does not leave the people at the mercy of either the Ministers or the Crown, nor does it leave the Crown at the mercy of the Ministers or the people. Then, Gentlemen, the only consideration is, Whether the same person shall be intrusted with the check and control upon his own conduct—a proposition so absurd and ridiculous, that it would be unnecessarily taking up your time any further to argue upon it.—Gentlemen; I have been denominated an enemy to my Country—an enemy to its liberties and to its Constitution.—Gentlemen; I am happy and proud to say—prouder than those Gentlemen who have just taken their leaves with all the ribbands which fly about them—that I possess

possess rather than their ribbons the hearts of my countrymen. But, Gentlemen, proud as I consider that honour to be—proud as it makes me—I will at the same time frankly and boldly say, that neither that nor any thing else would prevent my doing what I conceive to be my duty, and that my ambition has been more to serve than to please you.—Gentlemen; I have complained, of what?—of the Constitution? no—Of speculative doctrines, as they falsely charge me?—no—We are not now debating about a Government—we have a Government—we have an established Government, giving and affording, if fairly exercised, to all men within these realms, fair protection and rational freedom. I am not, therefore, now disputing such points. I know, moreover, that in different countries men have lived happily and securely under different forms of Government, and that a Government being established has, of itself, a considerable advantage over any other, however perfect it may appear in theory—that the very ground of its being established gives it a decided preference. But, Gentlemen, it is the abuses of Government which I have been pointing out; the scandalous misapplication of the public wealth, the scandalous and unfeeling plunder of the people of England, and the scandalous abuses which I have pointed out, are equally pernicious to all Governments, be their principles what they may. Gentlemen; were I to stay here to detail to you the statement of those abuses, the particulars of which I have at different times noticed—[*Here a Gentleman exclaimed, “ You*

might stay here till the next Election.”]---Gentlemen, very true, if I were to attempt to detail them I might stand here till the coming of another Election.---Gentlemen, I should certainly have to present a picture which even the persons who have been the authors of the system I complain of, would themselves perhaps start back and shudder at.---Gentlemen; with respect to the Grievances and to the Taxes of the Country, when they are so scandalously misapplied, I think it is the duty of every public man to stand forward and expose such conduct.---What has been the language upon that subject of Ministers themselves? what the consolation they have held out to the people?---no abuse has been rectified, but they have told you that the prodigal waste, or as they will call it, the necessary expenditure of the Country, has been such, and is such, that men must sacrifice even the necessaries of life—many indeed must do that; but we must not complain, though they leave us hardly any thing we can call our own—the man who keeps a house must go into the first floor and be a lodger—the man who rents the first floor must go into the second, and the man in the second floor must go up to the third. Why do not they proceed in their progress and shew you the issue, because there were men in all those situations before—why not mount up and say, the man who has the third floor must go into the garret;—but where is the man who was before in the garret to go? Why, Gentlemen, he must descend into the cellar;—but there was somebody before in the cellar! where is he to go to? why, he must be thrust out
naked

laid upon the pavement, and carried to the poor-house or the grave. Why, then do these Gentlemen stop in their progress? why do they not go on with the journey they are pursuing? they are shocked themselves at the picture they are going to trace, or afraid of telling you, whom they are leading, whither they are going to conduct you!—Gentlemen; in such times as these—in times of public danger, it is in my opinion one of the greatest crimes any man can commit, whether he does it against or according to law, to lay his unhallowed hands upon the sacred resources of the Country. Those resources are all wanted for national defence, and they cannot at once flow in two channels—they cannot be used for purposes of corruption, and for purposes of national security. Only to mention one department which these Gentlemen may perhaps call part of the Constitution—for they seem to consider nothing but its abuses as the Constitution—the very department of the Barracks. Why are Barracks built all over England? why so many millions bestowed upon them? were those millions which are employed in the most corrupt and foul way, employed, either in augmenting your navy, or in rewarding the gallant actions of those men who are the real defence of their country, were they employed in that way they would prove an ample source of national security without laying a single tax more upon the people.—Gentlemen; what becomes of all the Sinecure Places and Pensions given for the most corrupt and flagrant purposes?—given to delude the people in many instances, to oppress them in others; why are all those

resources given for such purposes, whilst there is a single honourable defender of his Country who goes unrewarded?—Gentlemen; there is another source, too, which ought to be held as a sacred source of national supply—I mean the honours of the state—Why are those honours prostituted for political purposes?—those honours which ought to be held sacred as the rewards particularly of military merit, which are a great and ample source of reward for gallant and brave men are made use of for no purpose but to secure corrupt majorities in the two houses of Parliament.—Gentlemen; there is another subject of abuse which I think it my duty to mention: why in this perilous state of the Country are we inundated by German troops? why are Englishmen sent out of the country on expeditions, and thousands of Germans taken into our pay? Can it be for the defence of England? Why did they not defend Germany? What interest have they with us? For what purpose has the Country been put to that expence, and those resources so employed which might have gone to the support and maintenance of national troops for the defence of England itself?—Gentlemen; having shortly detailed a very few of those circumstances of which I complain, and none of which I contend are complaints against the Constitution of England, but against those who are destroying, undermining, and corrupting that Constitution, I shall take my leave of you with merely observing--that great as the dangers of the Country are from without, they are still greater from the corruption within,—that no country has ever been overcome by the valour of its enemies
abroad

abroad which has not fallen a prey to a previous system of corruption at home.—Gentlemen; I shall take my leave of you with returning you many thanks for the honour you have done me, and with stating simply this—that while our gallant navy is contending against the foreign foe, you will always find me ready to contend for the people against the domestic one.”

Sir Francis was then drawn through Brentford by the populace. Most of the houses in Kensington and Knightsbridge were illuminated, and the whole had more the appearance of a triumph than a defeat.

*Mr. Mellish's Address to the Freeholders of
Middlesex after the Election.*

Gentlemen; If in an ordinary contest I had been chosen by you as one of your Representatives, I should have been utterly at a loss to express my gratitude for so high an honour. Judge, then, how incapable I must be of doing justice to my feelings, when your choice involves in it a great and glorious victory that you have enabled me to obtain over the dangerous party which, by the most disgracful practices at the last two Elections, had nearly triumphed over your independence. The immense majority with which you have honoured my humble pretensions to your favour, declares, in so decisive a manner, the voice of the County, that I trust it will extinguish the hopes of all who are desirous of stifling that voice by popular clamour, or of defeating it by the arts of faction. That majority
also,

also, permit me to add, affords the best possible answer to the call, which, during the Election, Sir F. Burdett has almost daily made upon me, for a declaration of my principles. Nay, it goes further; for it pronounces, in language which cannot be misunderstood, your judgment upon his principles, as well as upon mine.—In congratulating you, Gentlemen, upon a victory which is the fruit of so much exertion, and which, considering the nature of the contest, affords just cause for triumph to the kingdom at large, and, indeed, to the friends of order throughout the civilized world, my duty to you compels me most earnestly to intreat a continuance of that vigilance and firmness which, in such a cause, can alone secure the inestimable advantage we have gained.—Having hitherto refrained from professions, well knowing them to be a most fallacious test of conduct, I shall now content myself with assuring you, that by promoting, to the best of my abilities, the prosperity of the British Empire, the security of the British Constitution, and the honour and welfare of the County of Middlesex, I shall endeavour to justify your choice, and to evince the gratitude with which

I am, &c.

St. J. Park, Nov. 27.

WILLIAM MELLISH.

Mr. Bury's Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex after the Election.

Gentlemen—The high trust which you have again been pleased to repose in me, is the best proof that my conduct in your service has met with your approbation;

probation; for I will take upon myself to say, that never did any individual receive more conspicuous marks of the unbiassed suffrages of his constituents than I have been honoured with on the present occasion. Amidst the torrent of personal invective and violence with which the present contest for your favour has been conducted, I have felt it due both to your understanding and to my own character, to abstain from all professions as to my future conduct, as well as from all retrospect of the past. What I have been, is in your recollection; and I can truly say, without presuming to arrogate to myself any other merit than that of consistency, that even with the light which time and experience have thrown on the measures in which I took a part, I do not remember a single instance in which I have to regret the vote I gave, as one of your Representatives, or which I should change if it were again to be given. This may be ascribed to the advantage of my having uniformly maintained and acted on those rational principles of pure Whiggism, which with a constant but liberal jealousy of the exercise of power, has for its sole object the preservation of our invaluable Constitution in all its branches, and the happiness of the people from whom it sprung.

I have the honour to be, &c.

St. James's-Square, Nov. 27.

GEORGE BING.

*Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Freeholders
of Middlesex after the Election.*

GENTLEMEN;—The moment before the commencement of the late Election for Middlesex, Mr.
Whit-

Whitbread, in a manner most unbecoming his station, connections, and character, inserted in the public Newspapers the following passage, signed with his name : addressed indeed nominally, with dissembled respect, to me ; but intended as a political Electioneering Manœuvre against you.

“ I do not perceive in your present Address (says Mr. Whitbread) any allusion to an opinion promulgated by you on the late Election for Westminster, which is—‘ *That a person holding an Office under the Crown, however otherwise estimable, cannot at any time become the fit Representative of a free, uncorrupt, and independent People.*’---if such opinion be founded in truth, which (continues Mr. Whitbread) I utterly deny, a law ought to be passed to exclude all the executive servants of Government from seats in either House of Parliament. I have not heard, that it was in the contemplation of any one to propose such a measure : and, if proposed, I am sure it would meet with resistance from all descriptions of persons, who have the power or the will to reason upon its consequences. The people, by the acceptance of your doctrine, would reduce themselves to the hard necessity of being governed by the worst of mankind.”---These, Mr. Whitbread’s sentiments, have likewise been recently paraded by Mr. Windham, Secretary of State ; by Mr. Tierney, Chairman of the Board of Controul ; by Mr. Sheridan, Treasurer of the Navy ; and are now held, I presume, as the political creed of the whole party.—Gentlemen ; In that act of parliament

(12 and 13 Will. 3.) which gave the throne of these kingdoms to his present Majesty, and his family, intituled—" An Act for the further limitation of the " Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,"—it was wisely and honestly thus enacted—" That no person, who has an " office or place of profit under the King, or receives " a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of " serving as a Member of the House of Commons." —But Mr. Whitbread, it seems, never heard of this provision—" for better securing the Rights and " Liberties of the Subject." And because, after a melancholy experience of the necessity of such a provision, which our honest ancestors only foresaw, I maintain the opinion of those from whom his Majesty holds his Crown, I am represented, by these best of Patriots, as an enemy to the Constitution, and by some of their place-holding and place-hunting Party, as a traitor to my country. The worst of traitors to their country are those who eat up its resources. Mr. Whitbread's judgment upon us who hold this opinion, is indeed something milder : he only concludes us to be either fools or rogues,— " either we have not the *power* or the *will* to reason upon its consequences."—I have reason to believe, that Mr. Whitbread himself possesses both the *will* and the *power* to obtain speedily a lucrative office under the crown, without much embarrassing himself with its consequences to the Public.—Gentlemen ; When the last additional Taxes for the present year were lately imposed upon the People by these best of Patriots, it was undisguisedly and tran-

quilly acknowledged by them, without the least compunction, or commiseration of the People, that the necessary effect of these taxes would be, to drive the inhabitants of a house into lodgings, and the lodgers of the first floor into the second. Here indeed they stopped; leaving us to complete the miserable picture of national calamity; viz. that the lodgers of the second floor must mount up into the garret, the garreteer descend into the cellar; whose former wretched inhabitant must be thrust out upon the pavement, and from thence transferred to the workhouse or the grave. And this process is to be repeated *toties quoties*;—so that the best provided amongst us cannot tell where himself and his family may be found at last. This is a hard lesson for Englishmen to hear: It is harder still to hear it enforced from the mouths of those, who themselves are all the while creeping forward from their original garrets into palaces. Such unfeeling insult as this would never have taken place but amidst placemen and pensioners. Had they been really the Representatives of the People, they would have felt something for the People; and, instead of incessantly calling for fresh sacrifices, and telling us gaily, that we must “retrench even part of our necessities,” they would surely now at last have held out to us some prospect of consolation and redress; they would no longer continue to gorge upon the vitals of their country, but would think themselves too well off, if they were not justly compelled to disgorge their past infamous swallowings.

Gentlemen;—In becoming a Candidate at the late
late

late Election for your county, I do acknowledge, that I rather sought a Public, than a seat in Parliament. I sought for, and have found, amongst you, Freeholders who would vote for themselves, and not for any Candidate,—who would not give their votes as a favour conferred, but as a sacred trust reposed in an honest man, to enable him to stem the torrent against these venal Coalition Whigs, who are, by their own avowal, hunting the People of this country from the second floor to the garret.—That this system of corruption and oppression may cease, is the only ardent wish, and, in spite of every calumny, shall ever be the constant and unremitting endeavour of, Gentlemen, your most obedient and respectful humble Servant,

FRANCIS BURDETT.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S TWO LETTERS TO MR. WHITBREAD, CONTAINING STRICTURES ON THAT GENTLEMAN'S LETTER TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT (See p. 321.)

Letter the First.

Dear Sir,—It was not till Monday I first saw, in Lincolnshire, your letter to Sir F. Burdett, bearing date the 5th of this month; since which, until the present moment, I have not had time to express the sentiments to which it gave rise. Being of opinion, that not only the provocation given by the Baronet to your political party, but the retort it has produced, have tendencies injurious to that country which both, I am sure, sincerely desire to serve, I

shall exercise that fragment of liberty, which is almost all that remains to us, to state to you the grounds of my opinion. I lament the conduct of both, and I hope both will hear me with patience and candour.—When the calamitous, and, as I must ever call it, the pernicious ministry of Mr. Pitt, was succeeded by a ministry of which Mr. Fox was the inspiring soul, the hope, the expectation, the confident trust of English patriotism was, that the day was then near at hand when the political liberty which it was the wish of his grand mind might bless his species “all over the world” should at least be fully restored in England. If, Sir, month after month was seen to elapse, without any intimation being given of intended measures to that end; if those months were not distinguished by proceedings to indicate a different system of Administration from that which had brought upon us the heaviest calamities and the greatest dangers; that which had actually confiscated a part of our estates, by the operation called “selling the Land Tax,” and which had, for aught we could discover to the contrary, also conveyed the remainder of our property to the King’s Exchequer, to be paid in, whenever it should be voted by a House of Commons *which did not represent the people*; if, Sir, this was our situation, could it surprise a gentleman, with whom I had, some years ago, the honour of belonging to the Society of the Friends of the People, associated for a reformation of parliament, that a man of Sir F. Burdett’s acuteness of feeling, in whatever regards the freedom of his country, should

should give vent to the poignant emotions which must have kept his ardent mind on the rack, or should not even refrain from the language of indignant satire? To Mr. Whitbread's heart I address myself for an answer. I am not justifying the Baronet's want of patience, I am not vindicating his want of temper. As patience and temper are virtues, God knows, of which we never stood more in need, I wish they had more abounded; I wish they had not obstructed his own road to Parliament; I wish they had not excited against him any unnecessary enmity or prejudice. Whatever might have been his displeasure towards men in office,—whatever his fears, whatever his suspicions, I still blame him for not shewing more patience and more temper. In his provocation to your political friends, I think there was a censureable defect of self-command. In your retort, which may well pass for a state paper, breathing the sentiments of your party, you will pardon me, I doubt not, when I speak of it as deficient in magnanimity.—Feelings of a genuine love of liberty; a consciousness of intending that reform by which alone it can be restored; a determination to execute with fidelity in power, that for which, when out of power, you in vain contended, might Sir, I humbly think, have preserved in you a dignified silence at the present moment, even under the provocations of suspicion and reproach, rather than have, in any degree, divided the friends of reformation. Such a conduct was not more than might have been expected from men whose task it is, not merely to serve, but to save their country.—

Much;

Much, Sir, as your letter, penned in the true manner of a gentleman, is to be admired, I would to God that you had, on this occasion, resembled the Lacedemonian, whom not even blows could move to a resentment hurtful to his country! Might you not, Sir, even under the provocation of reproaches and sarcasms, with truth have nobly said—"The honest Baronet thinks us tardy; he fears that coalitions have diluted our public virtue; he suspects we are adding one more instance to the many that have gone before, in which the Circean taste of power has obliterated all remembrance of the former man; we must forgive him; we must bear with his anger; we know his inestimable value, and with what ardour he will support us when he finds us sincere. Let him anticipate our early exertions for restoring to the people their due weight in the legislature, by our favouring, in every way that is constitutional and honourable, his election for the metropolitan county of England! Then shall we have a noble revenge for the injury of his invectives!"—Give me leave, Sir, now to advert to that part of your letter in which you "utterly deny it to be an opinion founded in truth, that a person holding an office under the crown, however otherwise estimable, cannot at any time become the fit representative of a free, incorrupt, and independent people." Here, Sir, I confess you have surprised me; and no less so, when you add that "the people, by the acceptance of the Baronet's doctrine, would reduce themselves to the hard necessity of being governed by the *worst of mankind*." Not laying, Sir, any stress (for I despise
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cavil) upon an erroneous interpretation of Sir Francis's words, taken by you as extending "to exclude all the executive servants of government from seats in *either* House of Parliament," whereas they are confined to the "Representative," or Commons' House only; I must still express my astonishment, that the exclusion thought necessary by Sir F. Burdett, namely, an exclusion of the *servants of the crown* from among the *representatives of the people*, should, by a patriot statesman, be represented as exposing that people "to the hard necessity of being governed by *the worst of mankind*;" and equally was I the other day astonished, in reading it as the declaration of another patriot statesman (Mr. Sheridan), that "such an exclusion was contrary to *the English constitution*," or words to that effect, for I quote from memory.—Does not Mr. Whitbread know, that in the Seventeen American Houses of Commons, *there sits not among the representatives of the people, a single placeman in the pay of the executive magistrate?* Are, then, I ask, all these seventeen American nations "governed by *the worst of mankind*?" Have we observed in that country any such mismanagement of its affairs, any such perversions of its constitution, any such underminings of its freedom, or any such flagrant corruptions, or abuses, as to indicate that it is "governed by *the worst of mankind*?" When those legislatures, without being assisted by the wisdom of men in office, successively placed the executive sovereignty in the hands of a Washington, an Adams, and a Jefferson, did this bespeak a defect in their constitution, whereby "the people were reduced to
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the hard necessity of being governed *by the worst of mankind?*" The last named of these presidents, some time since, informed the people under his authority, that such economy and order had been introduced, that the whole revenue of the united States was raised at their "sea-board," by custom-house duties on exports and imports; that is, on superfluities they sent out of, and luxuries they received into, their country; and that, from one end of the states to the other—states extending over an immense continent, *not a single tax-gatherer was to be seen.* Is this, again, a proof of their "being governed by the worst of mankind?" I should rather conceive these sublime facts which have hitherto been thrown away upon us, to prove, that when some of our persecuted ancestors retired beyond the Atlantic, they had the good sense to carry with them only the *purity* of the representative branch of the English constitution, leaving *the corrupt dregs* in the land where they had experienced their persecutions. Nothing can be more certain than that the magnificent facts to which I recal your recollection, are genuine emanations from the English constitution.—Let us now, Sir, view a humiliating contrast; let us suppose a country to exist, where every servile place-hunter, every unprincipled adventurer, every rapacious speculator on public plunder, at the signal of a general election, posts to a Borough to corrupt the electors; where the minister corrupts the pretended representatives, and they in return, corrupt and contaminate the whole executive government; where action and reaction are equally per-

pernicious to the national morals, the national liberty, the national property. Must it not, Sir, I ask you, and I ask it with anguish, be, in such a country, and under such a system, that the people are most exposed to the misfortune of being “governed by *the worst of mankind!*”—My question, Sir, has the authority of melancholy experience. Your assumption is against fact and against reason. Contemplate, Sir, I beseech you, in one and the same view, a *Commons House* and a *Common Jury*; and disunite, if you can, the sacred principles of duty, on which a vote and a verdict ought ever, and ought alone to be given. Both are held in trust for the public. A verdict, Sir, you know cannot be sold for gain; no, nor even given to friendship against duty, but with infamy. If this be so, where, for the most part, only an individual is injured, how infinitely stronger the argument in the case of a vote, by which injury may be done a whole nation and its posterity to the latest generation! For, Sir, if your English mind would revolt with horror at the thought of foisting into a jury, that was to decide a cause of a hundred pounds between you and another, your own hired servants, or pensioners living on your bounty, how can you reconcile it to any principle of integrity, or of the constitution, that a large proportion of the House of Commons should be servants and dependents in the pay of the crown to vote away the money of the people by millions? Neither Mr. Sheridan nor yourself, in pleading for this indefensible practice, have told us in what proportion it ought to prevail. Your inability to tell us this proportion will ever be a proof that the practice for

which you (I trust unwarily) have become an advocate, is contrary to all constitutional principle ; and if principle be to govern, if the English constitution be to be held sacred, not one placeman can you constitutionally make a representative of a free people. The things are in nature at variance ; no man can serve two masters, occasionally in opposite interests, without failing in his duty to one or the other ; in short no man can serve God and Mammon.— To this monstrous inconsistency, to this gross absurdity, it is but too true, that corrupt habit on one hand, and a pretended impracticability of reform on the other, have too much reconciled or blunted our callous feelings ; as the feelings of Jamaica planters are reconciled to the viewing with complacency fellow-men in slavery, tilling the sun-scorched soil under the terrors and the smart of the driver's lash ;—Surely, Mr. Whitbread, it cannot be necessary to state to you, that a House of Commons which should be filled by genuine election, as free as pure ; opening the doors of parliament to all the worth and wisdom of our country, against which they are now barred, and from which placemen, as *voting* members, should be totally excluded, would not cease to be the theatre of ambition, and the road to power ! A theatre for the display of all the virtues and all the talents of the patriot and the statesman ! Surely it cannot be necessary to observe to a man of your enlightened mind, that such a house must be infinitely more prolific of characters fit for the government of a free people, than a house liable to be filled, by the means I have noticed, with
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the most base and profligate of their species!— If, Sir, it were possible to extinguish in private life, the just influence of wealth well employed, such distinction would destroy the cements and the endearments of society; or if it were possible to extinguish in public life that influence of the crown which holds out rewards to public toil and public virtue, such extinction would be the curse of our country; but, Sir, in the same degree that we ought to preserve the just influence of private wealth or of public power, we ought to be jealous of the corrupt influence of either. In a House of Popular Representatives, every place, every pension, every emolument dependent on the will of the crown, that is held by a member, is a drop of poison in the legislative chalice.—But, Sir, a pure and truly Representative House of Commons would form men for the duties of government: at the same time that it nourished a love of liberty and patriot integrity, it would train genius and industry to public business, and create a host of statesmen. It would be there the crown would look for ministers and official servants; the House would exult in having furnished them; and the people would rejoice in being governed by the best of mankind. Thus, Sir, would the action and reaction of pure and free election, and of public virtue, prevent parliament from degenerating into servility and dependence, and the crown from becoming either a tempter of parliamentary integrity or a tyrant of the people.—There can be no objection to a Treasury Bench, or to a Naval, or Military, or any other Bench, having

place in a House of Commons for purposes of state utility, to be occupied by servants of the crown; but that such persons should vote on questions between the crown and the people, touching either liberty or property, is a proposition too shocking to be entertained. Until a reformation, which is most devoutly to be wished, shall have been obtained, methinks, Sir, it would be but paying a decent homage to the real constitution of our country, should statesmen who hold places of great emolument under the Treasury, content themselves with representing the Boroughs of the Treasury. For these reasons, Sir, although I am sorry to differ from a man I respect and honour, I certainly shall "assist" Sir Francis Burdett to the utmost of my power "in becoming a member of parliament."—I have the honour to remain, Dear Sir, yours, &c.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

Letter the Second.

29 November, 1806.

DEAR SIR;—Our elections being now over, there remains one other passage in your letter to Sir F. Burdett, on which I must enter into a little expostulation with you. It is the following: "I have supported the present administration from a conviction that they were united upon principles of real public utility, and for the purpose of carrying into execution, plans of great national improvement, both in our foreign and domestic circumstances; and I cannot abandon them, because, in a situation
more

more difficult than that in which any of their predecessors have ever stood, they have not been able to effect, what I believe to have been nearest the hearts of them all, I mean a peace with France, seeing such a peace could not have been obtained upon terms consistent with national honour; and because time has not sufficed to mature and execute the schemes of internal improvement, which they have manifested their determination to pursue.”—Had this paragraph contained the word *reformation* it would, I confess, have afforded me more satisfaction. From an old member of the “FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE,” and a man of firm and decided character, I should naturally have looked for language more explicit, more in the style of the plain honest English of the Duke of Bedford, who, in a letter dated 29th of April 1805, says “I should be ashamed to give support to any set of men who did not feel the necessity of a radical amendment in the whole system of our government. The source of our evils is an inadequate, defective, representation of the people in parliament, and until that source is cut off, in my humble judgment, abuse and corruption will never cease to flow in a thousand different channels. I hope and trust the day is not far distant, when that most desirable event, a substantial and radical reform in the representation of the people, may be brought to bear: in the mean time, let them see the extent of their grievances, let them know whence they arise, and let them coolly and dispassionately form their own judgments upon the best and surest remedy: it
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is at hand, simple and of easy attainment." *— Although, Sir, we cannot doubt of your consistency, nor of that of your political friends, in adhering to the cause of parliamentary reformation, especially as the reasons for it daily grow stronger and stronger, yet it were much to have been wished, as a ground of hope to the nation, which certainly stands in need of every thing that can raise a hope of its condition being bettered, that you had at least hinted at such reformation having been one of the objects of the union and pursuit of his Majesty's present ministers. But I will proceed:

'Peace *nearest* the hearts of ministers.'—'Peace not to be obtained with honour'—How should it, when the natural and most obvious means to that end had been neglected? In *Napoleon*, either as a statesman, or as a warrior, do ministers see one whom England can awe into moderation and amity, while she puts not forth half her defensive energies? What those energies are, is fully unfolded in "*England's Ægis*," a new edition of which work I had the honour to present to each member of the cabinet last spring soon after the new ministry was formed. If it then made on their minds but little impression, the military events now before their eyes perhaps may. The doctrines of the *Ægis*, and those events, teach the same lesson. That it may practically influence the conduct of our rulers, 'ere the war get into the bowels of our own country, and thereby hazard the existence of the state, is my prayer.

* *State of the Nation* by J. C. 141

prayer.—“ *Schemes of internal improvement*” which ministers “ *have manifested their determination to pursue.*”—What, when empires and potent kingdoms in the twinkling of an eye are daily vanishing from our sight—when, at the pointing of the great necromancer’s sabre, Victory conducts his legions to battle, and Dominion takes her course in the direction he bids, are we to counteract the spell, by making auditors of accounts? Are we to avert from ourselves the mighty mischief, that has overwhelmed so many nations, by “improving” the law courts beyond the Tweed?—As many “internal improvements” as ministers please, but as foundations of their fame as statesmen, in the present crisis of England’s destiny, such petty objects are very trash and trumpery. Napoleon, I doubt not, has his “internal improvements” in finance and police, but these are not the things of which you hear. To place France at the head of nations, and himself at the head of all conquerors, are *his* objects. To place England as the rock of security, to preserve her independence and her honour, ought to be the leading object of her ministers.—I ask you, Mr. Whitbread, as a man of experience and ability, as a man of constitutional knowledge, as a patriot, and as a man of honour, if ministers could merit your support, or if they could deserve the name of statesmen, were they incapable of comprehending this great truth, that

POLITICAL LIBERTY MUST BE THE TRUE BASIS OF ENGLAND’S DEFENCE?—I then ask, what is political liberty? You, who took so active a part in “THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE,” know as well

as I in what it consists. Whatever we may think of the advantages of institutions not *necessarily* producing freedom, you know as well as I, that *political liberty* and *legislative representation* are convertible terms. If, therefore, our political liberty consists in being represented in the Commons House of Parliament, *and nothing else*, how infinitely important to us is the purity of that house!—I know not, Sir, whether you actually signed the petition drawn up by “THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE,” and now upon the Journals of the Commons for the 6th of May 1793, but, I am sure you are well acquainted with its contents. Eight years ago, I remarked, that, on the authority of that petition, I found “the majority seated in the house by the crown, by “the borough-holders, and the peers, at only 307;” but, that in a newspaper statement,* taken from the *History of the Boroughs*, it was then said “to amount to no less than the dreadful number of 424.” This was when the house consisted of only 558 members.—If, Sir, among “the schemes” of the cabinet to which you allude, a reformation of this be one, why, in God’s name, not proclaim it aloud! It requires no hesitation, no veil. What is it but this reformation that can give heart and hope to an almost despairing public? What but this, can silence faction

* On the 12th January, 1798, the Morning Chronicle gave a list of members, holding civil and military appointments, places, contracts, and sinecures *under the crown*, with near relations, &c. which amounted to *one hundred and sixty three*. It was from the same statement the above number, 424, was copied.

and unite the nation in support of patriot ministers? What but this, and arms in the hands of England's millions, can check the career of him who has already nearly conquered the whole Continent, but who has hitherto conquered none but *slaves*?"—That man calls us a nation of shopkeepers, and truly, Sir, I am not surprized. In too much of our policy, there is the meanness of the shop. In a dirty traffic for votes we see eagerness in the extreme; while the vital principles of freedom scarcely find an advocate. The borough trade, contraband and iniquitous, is now a road to what I will not name; and its contamination degrades even those whom one would be proud to respect. Parties contend by all the arts of intrigue for the reins of government; but which of them, when it prevails, manifests a grandeur of sentiment by restoring to the people the rights they have lost, or repairing the damage which the constitution has received? These are not views to enter into minds intent upon the emoluments of office, fees, sinecures, stock-jobbery and all the other profits of the shop. And which, again, among the statesmen who have been rivals as war ministers, has shewn himself superior to the contracted views and sordid policy of the shop—for every thing which wants the generosity and dignity arising from a genuine love of constitutional liberty, I account selfish and sordid.—No one of them has *founded* his defensive system on THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, or THE LIBERTY OF HIS COUNTRY? The two conspicuous features in the plan of each, have been a PERMANENT *standing army*; and a TEMPORARY arming of

portions of the people at the *discretion* of Ministers, liable to be blown away by a breath of their lips.—Is this the way to encounter him, who in a few days utterly annihilates immense *standing armies* famed for tactics and discipline? When landed upon our shores, what has England to oppose to him before whom all *despotic* nations fall, but her LIBERTY! Despots dare not arm the millions. An enslaved population to a regular army is “an unresisting medium;” while an English population armed, and organized agreeably to *the Constitution*, must prove a barrier which the conquerors of the continent could never pass, were every soldier a Napoleon.—If, Sir, you regard the fame of those whom you support, if with humility and true devotion you bow before the shrine of your country, impress upon those ministers the few simple truths of the constitution on which I have touched. Receiving those truths, their situation will no longer be “difficult:” Their course will be straight before them. Their proper line of conduct will be that which he who runs may read. In saving their country they cannot fail.—Shall I be told of *unseen difficulties*? Have these ministers the confidence of their sovereign? If they have not, if they cannot do that which is necessary to save the state, they have no business where they are; and their continuance in office can only deceive the people, and bring the kingdom to ruin. If they have their sovereign’s confidence he will adopt their advice. Firmly supported by their lawful sovereign, ministers are more than a match for the mock sovereignty of our borough potentates, and

and may at their pleasure lay it prostrate on the dunghill from whence it sprung. Neither its wealth, nor all its mercenaries, can save it from perdition, when once an honest king and honest ministers shall have determined, that it shall cease to reign. —I shall not at present speak of the part to be taken by the people in this business. If the king and his ministers should be agreed, the part of the people will then be very easy. It is because I do not imagine the people wish for such a state of things, as exposed Italy, Holland, Austria, and Prussia to conquest, that I presume upon their readiness to second their sovereign and his ministers in the natural means of precaution.

I have the honour to remain, dear Sir, &c.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

LETTERS BETWEEN MR. WHITBREAD AND SIR
FRANCIS BURDETT SINCE THE ELECTION.

To Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.

Sir; Ever since my entrance into public life as a Member of Parliament, it has been my earnest wish to divest political differences of all personal animosity, and I have been at all times ready to concede to others, with regard to myself, the liberty I have assumed towards them, of the fullest and freest discussion of every part of my public conduct. But there are limits, beyond which it is not possible to step, without injury to the party who may happen to be the subject of animadversions, such as he must

be compelled to resent.—It is with pain I am forced to say, that I feel myself so injured, by some passages contained in your Advertisement to the Freeholders of Middlesex, published in an Evening Paper of yesterday.—In the face of the people of England, you tell me, that, by the publication of a Letter addressed to you, in answer to a printed Circular Letter addressed by you to me, as one of the Electors of Middlesex, “ I have acted in a manner most unbecoming my station, connections, and character.”—After the account I gave you privately on the Hustings at Brentford, respecting the Letter in question, which was, “ That it was written without concert or consultation with any person whatever, that I began it within half an hour after the receipt of your Circular Letter and Address ; that it was out of my hands before four o’clock on the same day ; and that it was entrusted to the revision of one friend only (and that not till after the copy addressed to you had been sealed and dispatched), in order that he might see whether, from the haste in which it was written, it was not too inaccurate in point of language for publication ;”—you say, that “ I addressed that Letter nominally, and with diffembled respect, to you ; but that I intended it as a political electioneering manœuvre against the Freeholders of Middlesex.”—I did not dissemble, Sir, in any part of that transaction ; and at the time I wrote, I unfeignedly, as I told you, felt respect towards you ; and if you possess those feelings with which I am still willing and desirous to believe that you are actuated, you feel that it is impossible for me
not

not to demand reparation for the injury my character must sustain from a patient acquiescence under such imputations as you have most unprovokedly thrown upon me—such reparation I demand at your hands.—Mr. Brand has been so good as to undertake to carry this Letter, and is the only person who is acquainted with the circumstance of its having been written. He will state to you what my demands are.—This is not the time to enter into what I conceive to be the fallacy generally, or the injustice personally, pervading the whole of your Advertisement.—You are certainly not so much in my confidence as to entitle you to tell the people what my political views are; but I have never yet done any one political act, from the recollection of which I shrink; nor will I ever do one, without making as well understood, as my faculties will permit, what the grounds are upon which that act was done.—It will be for the public to determine then upon my conduct. I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

Scutbill, Dec. 2, 1806.

To Samuel Whitbread, Esq.

Sir; Nothing could have been more distant from my intention, than to introduce into the Advertisement, which I thought it necessary to address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, any expression which could be construed into personal disrespect to yourself; and I take this opportunity of assuring you, that
every

every interpretation of its contents, which may be perverted into a sense personally disrespectful to you, is contrary to my meaning and intention.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

FRANCIS BURDETT.

Piccadilly, Dec. 3, 1806.

P. S.—Mr. Brand thinks it necessary to give publicity to this Correspondence, to which I can have no objection.



FINIS.

(J. C. HANCOCK, Printer ;
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